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BOHEMIA
AN HISTORICAL SKETCH
BY THE COUNT LÜTZOW

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CARLYLE

BOHEMIA
An Historical Sketch by the Count LÜTZOW

EVERY MAN I WILL GO WITH THEE BE THY GVIDE

IN THY MOST NEED TO GO BY THY SIDE

LONDON: PUBLISHED by J. M. DENT & SONS LTD AND IN NEW YORK BY E. P. DUTTON & CO

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TO

THE COUNTESS GROSVENOR

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"Non modo excultarum literis verum et barbararum gentium complurium, typis non ita pridem descriptae, ac in publicum emissae Respub. mihi imposuerunt quandam quasi necessitatem de Repub. gentis meae aliquid simile meditandi inque literas conferendi" (Paulus Stransky, *Respublica Bojema*, 1643).

PREFACE

IT is to me a subject of great satisfaction that a new edition of my *Bohemia: An Historical Sketch*—first published in 1896—should be required. The study of Bohemian history is very important, as that history is closely connected with the present political situation of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and with the demand for autonomy raised by the Bohemian people at the present time. Without at least a slight knowledge of Bohemian history it is impossible to understand the foundation of this demand, and the contemptuous silence with which it is often treated in Western Europe is largely founded on ignorance.

Of late years historical study has made rapid progress in Bohemia, and a considerable number of statements and appreciations contained in the first edition of this work have had to be altered. All interested in Bohemian history are greatly indebted to the valuable studies published in the *Česky Casopis Historicky* (Bohemian Historical Review), which is so ably edited by Professors Goll and Pekář. Though much new light has been thrown on the past of Bohemia, no new history of the country superseding Palacký's monumental work has appeared. Recent research had indeed proved that the work of Palacký—to whom many now accessible documents were unknown—is not free from mistakes, yet it still remains precious. Professor Rezek's plan of continuing Palacký's history, which ends in 1526, up to 1620, and perhaps even further, remained unfulfilled in consequence of the illness and subsequent death of that brilliant historian. Professor Bachmann [1] has recently published a history of Bohemia. Written in German, it is more accessible to English readers than books written in the national language of Bohemia. The work is, however, imbued with a fierce hostility to the Bohemian nation, and should be read with great caution.

While I have been able to introduce considerable alterations and, I hope, improvements into this new edition of my book, I have also made two important changes in the structure of my work. In the first edition of *Bohemia: An Historical Sketch*, the last chapter contained a brief account of Bohemian literature. I had not, fourteen years ago, given to that interesting subject the amount of study which I have devoted to it of late years. The result of these studies is contained in my *History of Bohemian Literature*.[2] This work can be considered as super-

[1] I have briefly reviewed Professor Bachmann's work in the *English Historical Review* for July 1906.

[2] 1st ed. 1899, 2nd ed. 1907.

seding the last chapter of the first edition of *Bohemia: An Historical Sketch*, and that chapter has therefore been omitted.

On the other hand, I have been frequently told that a history of Bohemia which ends in 1620 must necessarily appear disappointing to many readers. It is true that the year of the battle of the White Mountain was long considered as the date which marks the end of Bohemian independence and of the ancient constitution. Yet, as Professor Rezek has ably pointed out, it was only the treaty of Westphalia which rendered the results of the battle of the White Mountain final. During the Thirty Years' War it sometimes—for instance, during the Saxon invasion in 1631—appeared probable that the Bohemians would again obtain autonomy and religious freedom. In 1648 only did the Bohemians abandon all hope. Then only did Komenský (Comenius), the greatest exile and the greatest man of Bohemia, address the Chancellor Oxenstierna in the despairing words: "If there is no help from man, there will be help from God, whose aid is wont to begin where that of men endeth."

It is also worthy of notice that the results of the battle of the White Mountain have not in every way proved as final as they would have appeared to one writing a century, or even fifty years, ago. It has always been an axiom of the Bohemian patriots that "as long as the language lives the nation is not dead." In this respect at least the future of Bohemia is assured, for never has the literature of the country been as extensive and as valuable as at the present moment. The political position of Bohemia also for a time seemed more satisfactory; a certain amount of autonomy was obtained; little more than thirty years ago an imperial decree promised the Bohemians the restoration of their ancient constitution in a modified form.

The fact that the outlook for Bohemia is at the present moment darker than it has been for many a year, does not therefore deter me from devoting the last chapter of this work to a brief outline of the history of Bohemia from the year 1620 up to the present day. This has often been a matter of considerable difficulty, as it is frequently not easy to fix the boundary between those matters that belong to the general history of Austria and Germany, and those that specially concern Bohemia.

LÜTZOW.

Zampach,
October 1909.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION

Many English visitors to my Bohemian home have remarked to me on the absence of any history of my country in the English language. German and Bohemian (Cech) historians are numerous, and include many who have written in the present century, since freedom of writing and of research into archives have existed in Austria. Most of these are valuable and trustworthy; but I think I may lay claim to having compiled the first narrative or sketch of Bohemian history in English from original and other authorities.

My little work professes to be no more than a sketch, and I have purposely selected this title for the volume. I have, therefore, though briefly noticing the earliest records of Bohemia, devoted most of my attention to the period of the Hussite wars and of Bohemian independence. Bohemia as an independent State practically ceased to exist after the battle of the White Mountain (often, I think, called the battle of Prague by English writers) in 1620; and at this point my sketch of Bohemian history ceases.

But up to that date, the annals of Bohemia are full of picturesque incident, and have considerable bearing on the general development of Europe. In King John Bohemia gives us the embodiment of mediæval chivalry, and its most remarkable crowned representative. The religious questions that afterwards convulsed Europe were first thrashed out in Bohemia, and John Hus and his followers maintained and developed there the ideas that were first broached by Wycliffe in England, but for the time found little support in that reformer's native country. These points are, I think, clearly brought out. Political liberty and democratic principles, unsuccessfully contended for as they were, receive some of their earliest illustrations from Bohemian history.

The art of war also was early developed by the genius of leaders such as Žižka and the two Prokops.

I have little space in my "Sketch" to deal with these matters, and I leave my readers and critics to draw such conclusions from the facts narrated as they think justified. Every effort has been made to reduce the bulk of my narrative; only those of my friends who know the enormous mass of material in German, Latin, and Bohemian to which I have had recourse, will be able to gauge the labour involved in limiting the growth of the book. The interest to me has grown as the work has progressed, for the history of Bohemia, so little known to English readers, may be regarded as a drama, and even perhaps as a tragedy.

Though Bohemia has—undoubtedly to its ultimate advantage—long formed part of the vast Empire now known as Austria-Hungary, the country still retains a language, a literature, and a history of its own. To outline within the limits of a sketch some of these elements of its interest is my sole object. Though I have the materials, I have not the time nor opportunity to write a history of Bohemia in English; I only ask my readers to judge of my book as being what it is—a sketch of a great country's history.

My principal authorities are the numerous works published during the present century in German and Bohemian by Palacký, Jungmann, Tomek, Tieftrunk, Helfert, Höfler, Rezek, Bilek, Goll, Gindely and many others. I have endeavoured, by means of references and notes, to mention as far as possible the authors to whom I am indebted. An enumeration of all the works consulted, which would of course include the older authorities also, would have unduly lengthened the book. Many points of Bohemian history being still contested, I have been obliged to give in my foot-notes longer and more numerous quotations than might perhaps appear necessary. Readers who omit them will yet be able to follow the general outline of the narrative. Besides the modern writers mentioned above, I have availed myself of the information contained in the "Journal of the Bohemian Museum" (*Časopis Musea Ceskeho*), so rightly described by Mr. Morfill as "a mine of Slavonic lore."

The historians of the present century, who have had access to many formerly unknown sources of information, have to a considerable extent reconstructed the history of Bohemia; and many of the older writers have to be studied with great caution. I have, however, not entirely neglected to consult the old chroniclers, such as Cosmas, Weitmil, Pulkava, Hajek, and many others. The latter historians, Habernfeld, Skála and Slavata, are still of the greatest value for the history of Bohemia, and I have carefully studied their works. I have given a short notice of some of the old historians of Bohemia in the eighth chapter, which deals with the literature of the country.

Though the purpose and scope of my book almost appear to exclude original research, I was very glad of the opportunity afforded me during a visit to Venice, at the beginning of the year 1895, of examining some of the documents referring to Bohemia preserved in the State Archives at S^ta. Maria de' Frari. I take this occasion to thank Commendatore Stefani, Director of these Archives, for his great attention, and I have been able in several passages to refer to some of the more interesting documents which I examined. I also wish to express my thanks to the Hon. Madame Wiel, who has very kindly assisted me in correcting the proofs of this book, and to Messrs. Chapman & Hall, to whom I am indebted for the two sketch-maps.[1]

In Chapter VIII I have included a few notes on matters that occurred to me in the course of a rather extensive study of the old Bohemian writers, both in Čech and in Latin. These notes have, of course, no pretension to be considered as a history of ancient Bohemian literature. I should in no case consider myself as competent to undertake such a work, nor would, I think, a large book on this subject be of much interest to English readers. In the chapter of his work on *Slavonic Literature* which treats of Bohemia, Mr. Morfill has given a short but lucid and trustworthy notice of all the more important Bohemian writers, from the earliest period to the decline of the language

[1] As these sketch-maps did not in my opinion add to the value of my book, they have not been reproduced in the present edition.

after the battle of the White Mountain. To this book I can confidently refer my readers. Of other recent English works on Bohemian literature, the *Native Literature of Bohemia in the Fourteenth Century*, and *John Hus*, both by the late Rev. A. H. Wratislaw, must be mentioned as the best.

Bohemia is justly proud of her history, and I think her recent historians, whether using the native or the German language, have done credit to her greatness; but to write even a sketch of Bohemian history requires a thorough knowledge not only of the Bohemian, but also of the English language. I am deeply conscious of my shortcomings on this point. I am not writing in my own language, and constant study of German and Bohemian books has left its impress on my use of English in writing. To numerous lapses from the most approved methods of English writing I must beg my readers' indulgence; and this I do not without hope, seeing that to some at least of them I am known personally, while all will alike recognize the difficulties to which I thus refer. I trust at all events that my meaning is clear, even when I have had to struggle with the difficulty of making it so.

I have added a chronological table giving the names of the rulers (princes, afterwards kings) of Bohemia, with the dates of their accessions and deaths.

The spelling of Bohemian (Slav) names presents considerable difficulty, and even Cech writers are not agreed on this matter. Though complete uniformity is perhaps impossible, I have generally adopted the spelling now in use. Names of towns, and especially of families, have sometimes retained an older form of spelling, which I have followed where I believed it to be in more general use. Some towns also, where the nationality of the population has varied at different times, possess German and Bohemian names, both of which are still in use. In all these cases I have without pedantry adopted the designation that seemed to me the most intelligible to English readers.

I must add one remark, which is only intended for readers who are my countrymen, in the unlikely case that this little book should come into their hands. In no country has the habit of using the events of the past

as examples or arguments applicable to the political dissensions of the present day prevailed so extensively as in Bohemia. Nothing is to my mind more unscientific, and indeed more reprehensible. I have exercised special care in avoiding any remark which might have even the appearance of an allusion to the religious or political controversies in Bohemia at the present time.

LÜTZOW.

Žampach,
December 1895.

The following is the list of Count Lützow's works :—

Bohemia, an Historical Sketch, 1st edition, 1896; A History of Bohemian Literature, 1st edition, 1899, 2nd edition, 1907; Prague (Mediæval Towns series), 1st edition, 1902, 2nd edition, 1907; "The Labyrinth of the World," by Komenský (Comenius), Translated and Edited by Count Lützow, 1st edition, 1900, 2nd edition, 1902; The Historians of Bohemia (being the Ilchester lectures for 1904), 1905; The Life and Times of Master John Hus, 1909; and various articles and reviews in English and Czech.

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BOHEMIA

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST INHABITANTS OF BOHEMIA (UP TO THE YEAR 431)

Bohemia, now a part of the great Habsburg Empire, has a history which is a record of much past greatness. It is situated in the centre of the European continent, and divided by high chains of mountains from the neighbouring German countries—Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, and Austria. Only in the direction of the sister-land, Moravia, is there no such mountainous frontier. Bohemia is inhabited by a population the largest part of which, except in the earliest times, has always been of the Slavonic race; but all the surrounding countries, except Moravia, which is also mainly Slavonic, are inhabited by Germans. Moravia has almost always been under the same domination as Bohemia, and the two countries were together known as the lands of the Bohemian crown;[1] though during the days of Bohemia's greatness parts of Northern Germany and of the Slavonic lands joining Bohemia were also governed from Prague. The geographical position of Bohemia supplies to a great extent the key to the history of that country. The great chains of mountains which divide it from the neighbouring German lands give Bohemia a separate and isolated position. The country therefore forms a continent within the continent of Europe, as Göthe has well expressed it. This is, no doubt, one of the causes why the Slavonic race has to a great extent retained its hold over Bohemia, whilst the adjoining territories of Northern Germany, the population of which was formerly Slavonic, have long since been Germanized. Attempts were, however, always made by the German princes and people to attain a similar result in Bohemia also, and this struggle between rival races is the leading feature in Bohemian history. Modern research has proved that this idea dominates the many religious conflicts

[1] Silesia and Lusatia were also at certain periods counted among the lands of the Bohemian crown; but their connection with Bohemia was neither as close nor as lasting as that of Moravia.

in this country to a greater extent than would appear from the writings of the old historians, who treat the subject almost entirely from the point of view of religious controversy.

In consequence of the geographical position of Bohemia we find few references to that country in the old Greek and Latin writers, and its earliest history is therefore very obscure. According to a theory, whose origin can be traced back as far as Ænæas Sylvius, and which will be mentioned presently, Bohemia had first a Celtic and then a Teutonic population. Recent research, founded, in the absence of all historical evidence, on craniology and archæological research, has rendered it probable that at least part of Bohemia had an autochthonous Slavic population. Of the two great recent authorities on this difficult subject Dr. Pič affirms that there were certainly Slavs in Bohemia before the beginning of the Christian era, and Dr. Niederle that Slavs can be traced as far back as the fifth century before Christ. According to the formerly generally accepted account, the earliest inhabitants of Bohemia were the Boji, a branch of the Celtic race. Livy tells us that in the time of the king Tarquinius Priscus, the Celtic king Ambigatus in Gaul, finding it difficult, in consequence of his age, to rule over the ever-increasing population, ordered his nephews Sigoves and Belloves to lead a large part of the people to other lands. The flight of birds was to decide the direction of their travels, and according to it Sigoves set out for the east and settled in the Hercynian forest, a district that may be roughly identified with the present Bohemia. This legend, though its historical truth has (at least, as far as the date is concerned) been disproved by Niebuhr, is evidently founded on old traditions of the Celtic druids.

We find few references to these earliest inhabitants of Bohemia in the classical authors, and the first positive fact concerning them that has come down to us dates from the year 115 B.C. In that year the Cimbri left their homes in the country that is now Southern Russia, and marched westward through the present Galicia and Moravia, where in a battle, the probable site of which was in North-eastern Moravia, they were entirely defeated by the Boji. The Cimbri, in consequence of this defeat, altered their line of march, and passing through the countries now known as Styria, Switzerland, and France, entered Italy. This victory

over an army that even Rome only defeated with great difficulty, proves that the Boji were at that time a powerful and warlike nation.

We next hear of the Boji in connection with Julius Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul. A certain number of Boji had joined the Helvetii, who were also of Celtic race, in their attempt to settle in Gaul. Though this attempt was frustrated by Cæsar's victory at Bibracte, the Boji were, at the request of Cæsar's allies, the Aedui, allowed to settle in their country.[1] The evidence as to what number of Boji left their country and settled in Gaul is contradictory. It seems probable, however, that the nation was greatly weakened by this emigration; for it proved unable, ten years later, to resist the Dacian king, Boerebistes, who ruled over the lands now known as Transylvania and Hungary. He attacked them in that part of their country now known as the Archduchy of Austria, and defeated them in a battle which was probably fought in the neighbourhood of the river Raab. The Boji retreated to Bohemia, where Boerebistes does not seem to have pursued them; but he devastated the land he had conquered so cruelly, that it was known long after as the "Bojian Desert." The empire of Boerebistes does not seem to have survived his death; but the Boji, weakened by these unsuccessful wars, soon fell an easy prey to the Germanic tribe of the Marcomanni.[2]

Opinions differ as to the original home of the Marcomanni, though it seems most probable that they occupied lands near the upper course of the river Oder, and that they afterwards moved to Moravia and Upper Hungary. They were on terms of friendship with Rome, as Marbod, a son of one of their princes, was educated at the court of the Emperor Augustus. A man of great talent and ambition, his natural capacities as ruler and commander were developed by his residence in the capital of the world. On his return to his country he seized the sovereign power and organized his army according to the Roman fashion. The country he first attacked was that of the Boji, whom he seems to have conquered without great difficulty (probably in the year 12

[1] Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* i. 28.

[2] Mommsen remarks (*Röm. Geschichte*, iii. 243, 244) that there is no historical evidence of the existence of the Marcomanni, as a separate people, before Marbod's time; the name may originally only have meant what it etymologically signifies—frontier defenders ("marchmen").

B.C.). He made their capital, Buiamum, his residence, changing its name to Marobodum. From Bohemia, where his position in consequence of the mountains and dense forests which surrounded the country was very strong, Marbod undertook the conquest of the neighbouring German tribes, and appears to have become the chief of a powerful empire. He, however, soon found a rival competitor in Arminius, or Hermann, prince of the Cherusci, who by his victory over the Romans in the Teutoburg forest had delivered a great part of Germany from the Roman yoke. Marbod had remained neutral during the struggle between Rome and the German tribes led by Hermann, and had thereby incurred great hostility among the Germans. War soon broke out between the two chiefs—the first great war between German tribes known to history. A great battle was fought between the two armies in the country now known as Saxony; and, though the result was not decisive, Marbod retired into Bohemia and invoked the aid of the Emperor Tiberius. The Roman Emperor afforded him no aid, though he sent his son Drusus to mediate between the German princes; and as the German tribes formerly subject to Marbod now revolted against him, he soon lost all his conquests except Bohemia. This country also he was not destined to retain long. Kattwalda, prince of the Goths, secretly encouraged by the Romans, entered Bohemia (13 A.D.) with a large army, and by treachery possessed himself of Marbod's capital. Deserted by every one, Marbod was obliged to seek refuge in Italy; and, by permission of the Emperor Tiberius, he took up his residence at Ravenna, where he remained up to his death, eighteen years afterwards. Tacitus mentions that in his time the speech was still in existence in which the Emperor Tiberius expatiated on the former greatness of Marbod's power, and on the means by which he had been forced to surrender himself to Rome.[1]

Kattwalda was not destined to retain his conquest long. After a reign of only two years he was driven from his country by Vibilius, prince of the Hermunduri, whom the Romans (always desirous to create dissensions among the German tribes) had probably instigated. Kattwalda was obliged to seek refuge with the Romans, but they would not allow Vibilius to retain the land he had conquered. Aided by Rome, Vannius, king of the Quadi, possessed

[1] Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 64.

himself of the lands of the Marcomanni; and that name, which Marbod had rendered famous, now sinks into obscurity. The Marcomanni, as well as the Quadi, fell under the domination of other tribes, probably the Hermunduri. All these tribes appear to have been to a certain extent dependent on Rome; and we read that the Emperor Domitian, having demanded aid from Quadi and Marcomanni in his war with Decebalus of Dacia and receiving an unsatisfactory answer, caused their envoys to be murdered and attacked their country (90).

During seventy-five years from this date we find no historical mention of the tribes which inhabited Bohemia, and only from the time of the beginning of the Marcomannic war (A.D. 165) we find some slight mention of Bohemia and the neighbouring countries. This war is known in history as the Marcomannic war; probably more because the name was better known to the Romans than those of other tribes living further from the frontiers of the empire, than because that tribe took a very prominent part in it. Numerous tribes, whose partly-distorted names are recorded by the Roman historians, and among whom we find mentioned the Marcomanni and Quadi, driven southward by other—probably Slavonic—tribes, simultaneously attacked the Roman Empire. Only insufficient and contradictory accounts of this great war have reached us. The Roman Emperor, Marcus Aurelius, having defeated the German tribes in several battles, formed the plan of incorporating the lands of the Marcomanni and Quadi (that is to say, the districts now known as Bohemia, Moravia, and Upper Hungary) entirely with the Roman Empire. A great insurrection in the east, however, obliged Marcus Aurelius to renounce these plans and to conclude peace. Faithful to the Roman system of separating the various German tribes, the Emperor granted them peace under different conditions; and those imposed on the Marcomanni appear to have been the hardest. They and the Quadi were obliged to receive in their land and maintain a Roman army of 20,000 men. The severity of this condition, and the depredations committed by the Roman army of occupation, soon caused the Marcomanni to renew the war with Rome. They were again defeated by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, but he was not able completely to conquer their country; and after his death the Emperor Commodus made

peace with the Marcomanni. The conditions were less onerous than those of the former treaty. Though they were to remain dependent on Rome, the land of the Marcomanni was no longer to be occupied by a Roman army. There can be no doubt that this long war had greatly weakened the Marcomanni and diminished their number. We find occasional mention of their name in connection with those of the German tribes who, during the reigns of the successors of Marcus Aurelius, invaded the Roman Empire in every direction. They are mentioned as having invaded the Roman territory during the reigns of the Emperors Caracalla, Alexander Severus, Maximinus, Valerianus, Gallienas, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian, and (in 358) during the reign of the Emperor Julian. Hardly any records of these expeditions, that seem to have been undertaken more for the sake of plunder than of conquest, have reached us. In the year 404 the German prince Radagaisus attacked Italy at the head of a large army, to which the Marcomanni sent a contingent. He was, however, defeated in the following year, and almost his whole army perished on the battle-field. A great number of Marcomanni also joined Godegisil, king of the Vandals, in his expedition to Africa.

It is probable that only a scanty population now remained in the lands near the Hercynian forest. The Marcomanni who had remained in their former abode were, like the neighbouring tribes, unable to resist the attacks of the Huns, and soon became subject to them. The last notice concerning the Marcomanni which we find in history tells us that they were among the Germans subject to Attila, who formed part of the army with which he attacked Gaul. They took part in the battle of the Catalaunian fields, in which Attila was defeated, and it is probable that most of the few remaining Marcomanni perished there. Bohemia had after this battle probably but a small population. The Celtic Boji and the Teutonic Marcomanni were now, however, to have as successors Slavic tribes, of which the Čechs were the most powerful. Though there may have been an autochthonous Slavic population in Bohemia, it was only then that the Čechs began to form the majority of the population of Bohemia, as they have continued to do up to the present day.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE TIME OF THE OCCUPATION OF THE COUNTRY BY THE BOHEMIANS (ČECHS) TO THE DEATH OF PRINCE BOLESLAV II (451–999).

As has already been mentioned, the Čechs, who after the extinction of the Marcomanni settled in Bohemia, were a branch of the great Slavonic race. It is probable that the Slavs inhabited a large part of Eastern Europe from the earliest historical times, though all attempts to identify the lands they occupied are mere conjectures.

As Bohemia was henceforth to be inhabited by the Slavonic race, it will be well to throw a glance on the social and political condition of the Slavs at that period, as far as the scanty records that have reached us render it possible.

Of the religion of the ancient Slavs hardly anything is known. The writers of the earlier part of the nineteenth century, in the absence of all genuine records often relied on documents that have since been proved to be forgeries. Such were the so-called MSS. of Zelena Hora and Kralové Dvůr, and particularly the notes that were interpolated in a genuine MS. entitled the "Mater Verborum." It is to the learned Mr. Patera, formerly librarian of the Bohemian Museum, that the discovery of the fraudulent insertions in the "Mater Verborum" is due.

The earliest political institutions of the Slavs were of the most primitive nature; they appear when we first read of them to have known neither princes nor nobles, and the only existent authority was that of the starosta or elder of each village. We hear that the Slavs in the earliest times were less warlike than their Germanic neighbours, which perhaps accounts for the absence of any military institutions, and for the facility with which they were conquered and partly extirpated by the Germans.

The great struggle known as the migration of nations, forced the Slavs to imitate their neighbours by strengthening their organization. The Slavs of Bohemia were, at a time which it is difficult to determine, divided into tribes, each of which was ruled over by a chief named "voyvode." The voyvode of the most important of these tribes, the Čechs—a name which was gradually extended to all the

Slavonic tribes in Bohemia—appears to have exercised a certain supremacy over the other voyvodes, and to have been known as the kněz (prince). When some of the tribes increased in number the voyvodes divided them into several župa (districts), over each of which they appointed a župan (chief). The voyvodes, as well as the supreme voyvode or knez, were elected by the members of their tribe; but this selection soon tended to become merely nominal, as it became established that the choice should be limited to members of certain powerful families.

The kněz or prince, as well as the voyvodes and župans, seem to have united all civil and military authority in their persons. The prince was judge over the whole people, and the voyvodes and župans acted in the same capacity with regard to their tribe or district. These same chiefs were also the leaders in time of war.

Hardly any record of the conquest of Bohemia by the Čechs has reached us, and the date is also uncertain, though it seems sure that this event occurred during the fifth century.[1] The modern Bohemian historians, Palacký and Tomek, consider the year 451 the most probable date. According to old legends, Čechus, or Čech, a noble of Croatia [2]), having committed homicide, fled from his country, and with his companions sought a new abode in Bohemia. Old traditions tell us that Čechus and his followers, after having crossed three rivers,[3] first fixed their abode on the mountain Rip (Georgsberg, mountain of St. George), a hill near Róudnice, overlooking the Elbe.

Scarcely anything is known to us of the history of the Čechs in the earliest times after their settlement in Bohemia. The old legends referring to this time tell us of numerous wars with the neighbouring German tribes, probably the Thuringians and the Franks, and already show a spirit of racial hatred against the western neighbours.

At some period in the sixth century the Bohemians, or Čechs,[4] became tributary to the Avares, a tribe of Asiatic

[1] See, however, p. 2, where I have mentioned that there was probably a Slavic population in some parts of Bohemia long before this period.

[2] The situation of this Croatia is very uncertain. It may have been the present Austrian province of Galicia.

[3] Many not very successful attempts have been made by Bohemian historians to identify these three rivers.

[4] The Bohemian historians, when writing in German, always designate

origin, which, having conquered Hungary, now began to invade Western Europe. Nothing is known either as regards the duration or the extent of the domination of the Avares over Bohemia. Recent research has, however, proved that their power was greater in Pannonia (which roughly corresponds to the present Hungary) than in Bohemia. It is not even certain that the Avares ever permanently occupied Bohemia, where no archæological traces of their sojourn have been found. It is, however, certain that they frequently plundered and ravished the country.[1] The old German chronicles tell us that in the year 623 Samo, who probably belonged to one of the Slavonic tribes that then inhabited Northern Germany, aided the Bohemians in their struggle against the Avares, and that with his help they succeeded in freeing their country from alien domination.

The grateful Bohemians chose Samo as their king, and he is said to have been the founder of the first great Slavonic State. Bohemia was the centre of his dominions, and Samo's residence was traditionally believed to have been the castle of the Vyšehrad.[2]

The formation of this great Slavonic State excited the jealousy of Dagobert, king of the Franks, and he invaded the lands of Samo in several directions. His main army was, however, defeated in a great battle fought at Wogastisburg (probably near the present town of Cheb),[3] which lasted three days. After this victory Samo is said to have still further extended his dominions. He appears to have lived up to the year 658.

From this date up to nearly the end of the eighth century the history of Bohemia is a complete blank, and our only authority for this period is Cosmas of Prague, who lived four centuries later, and whose writings deserve the name of fairy-tales more than that of history.[4] These tales, un-

their countrymen as Bohemians, not Čechs ; and I shall henceforth follow their example.

[1] This has been clearly shown by Dr. Niederle in the *Cesky Časopis Historick* (Bohemian Historical Journal) for 1909, p. 345–349.

[2] A hill near Prague, now incorporated with that town.

[3] In German Eger.

[4] The modern Bohemian historians Palacký and Tomek quote the so-called MSS. of Zelena Hora and Kralové Dvûr as authorities for this period. Recent research has proved that they are forgeries dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century.

doubtedly founded on old traditions, have remained widely popular in Bohemia, so that it may be well briefly to notice them. Cosmas tells us that the Bohemian prince Krokus (or Krok), whom he calls the first ruler over the country, had three daughters, Kázi, Teta (or Lethka), and Libussa. Kázi, the eldest, was equal to the Colchian Medea in her knowledge of medicine and poisons; whilst the second, Teta, was learned in religious rites, and taught the ignorant people to worship Oreades, Dryades, and Hamadryades.[1] "The Third (sister), smaller in the number of years but greater in wisdom, was called Libussa . . . she was a wonderful woman among women; chaste in body, righteous in her morals, second to none as judge over the people, affable to all and even amiable, the pride and glory of the female sex, doing wise and manly deeds; but as nobody is perfect, this so praiseworthy woman was, alas, a soothsayer."[2] Libussa, though the youngest of the three sisters, was chosen by the people to be their ruler; whether in consequence of her many qualities that he enumerates, Cosmas does not tell us. Libussa reigned for some time over the people, and is said to have founded the city of Prague at the foot of the Vyšehrad, and to have foretold its future greatness.

At length, however, the Bohemians became discontented with female rule, and when Libussa was judging a dispute between two nobles, the one against whom she decided insulted her, and said that his country was the only one that endured the shame of being ruled over by a woman. Libussa then said to the people that she saw they were too ferocious to be ruled over by a woman. She begged them to disperse, and on the following day to choose a man to rule over them; whomsoever they might choose she promised to take as a husband. The people replied by asking her to choose a husband, whom they would acknowledge as their prince. Libussa consented, and on the following day said to the assembled people, pointing to the distant hills, "Behind these hills is a small river called Belina, and at its bank a farm called Stadic. Near that farm is a field, and in that field your future king is ploughing with two oxen marked with various spots. His name

[1] Under these classical denominations Cosmas evidently designated the Rusalky or fairies, in whose existence the heathen Bohemians believed.

[2] Cosmas, *Pragensis Chronica Bohemorum*, pp. 2, 3.

is Přemysl, and his descendants will reign over you for ever. Take my horse and follow him ; he will lead you to the spot." The people chose several out of their number, who immediately set out, and following the guidance of Libussa's horse reached the place described by her, and there found a peasant, whose name they ascertained to be Přemysl, ploughing his field. They immediately saluted him as their prince, and conducted him to the castle on the Vyšehrad, where he was married to Libussa, and seated on the princely throne. Modern Bohemian historians assert that Přemysl was the voyvode of the Lemuzes, one of the tribes into which Bohemia was then divided ; and they have also made various not very successful attempts to identify the locality where he was found. According to the old traditions, Přemysl was a great law-giver ; and in later times all the most ancient laws and regulations were attributed to him.

Beginning with Přemysl, the ancient Bohemian chroniclers have constructed a regular genealogical table, and his successors in the male line ruled over Bohemia for more than five centuries (up to 1306) ; whilst the Habsburg dynasty, now reigning over Bohemia, also descends from him in the female line. Nothing except their names,[1] not even the length of their reigns, is known of the first successors of Přemysl ; though Hajek of Libočan, and other Bohemian writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, give long but entirely imaginary accounts of their reigns.

Towards the end of the eighth century the German chroniclers again begin to throw some light on the events that occurred in Bohemia. Ever since the beginning of the greatness of the Carlovingian dynasty these sovereigns had attempted to extend their power in Eastern Germany ; and had succeeded in subduing not only the Saxons, but also some of the Slavonic tribes that then inhabited a large part of North-eastern Germany.

The Slavonic tribes of the Obotrites, Wiltes, and Sorbes—whose dwelling-places may be roughly identified with Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Saxony—were successively overcome by the Carlovingian monarchs, especially by Charles the Great. As was inevitable, Bohemia, which in so many directions joined the lands he had conquered, also

[1] These names will be found in the list of sovereigns of Bohemia contained at the end of this volume.

attracted the ambition of the great Emperor; particularly after that his coronation in Rome (800) had, according to the then prevalent ideas, invested him with supreme power over Western Europe.

There are no historical records as to the direct cause which induced Charles the Great to attempt the conquest of Bohemia; we only learn from contemporary German chroniclers that he (805) attacked that country from several directions, the main army being commanded by the Emperor's son Charles. The campaign does not appear to have been a successful one, nor do the Germans seem to have remained long in Bohemia. It is, however, probable — though evidence is very contradictory — that Bohemia became to a certain extent tributary to the Carlovingian monarchs. Should the Bohemians then have consented to pay a tribute, we have every reason for supposing that such payments only took place during the lifetime of Charles the Great, and not during the reigns of his successors. During the intestine disturbances, which broke out in the empire of the Franks after the death of Charles the Great, his successors were too much occupied to think of attempting any new attack on their Slavonic neighbours. It was only after the treaty of Verdun (843) that the Bohemians again had to defend their independence against the Germans. By the partition which had been agreed on at Verdun, Louis, surnamed the German, had become ruler of Germany, and, as such, heir to the claims of supremacy over the neighbouring Slavonic tribes. It was not, however, against Bohemia that he first turned his arms, but against the sister-land, Moravia.

The earliest history of Moravia, up to the beginning of the ninth century, is involved in even more complete obscurity than that of Bohemia. We have, however, every reason to believe that in those days it shared the fate of that country; that it was conquered by the Avares, then liberated by Samo; and that it formed part of his empire.

About the middle of the ninth century Moravia was governed by Mojmir, who, from the scanty record that has reached us, appears to have been a ruler of great ability. He united the scattered tribes under his dominion, and was the real founder of the great Moravian Empire, which for some time included Bohemia also. In 846 Louis "the German" sent a large army into Moravia, and appointed

Mojmir's nephew, Rostislav, ruler of the land. Moravia having been forced to acknowledge German supremacy, the German army now attacked Bohemia. The Bohemians, however, were successful in their resistance, and defeated the invading army. From this time forth war raged between Germany and Bohemia for thirty years. The vague and contradictory reports of battles that have reached us are of no interest to English readers. It is of more interest to turn our attention to an event of immense importance to Bohemia that occurred about this time, namely, the conversion of the country to Christianity.

It is probable that Christianity penetrated into Moravia earlier than into Bohemia, and Palacký gives documentary evidence that as early as the year 836 a Christian church was consecrated at Neutra in Moravia by the Archbishop of Salzburg. In 884 we read that fourteen Bohemian nobles appeared at the court of King Louis "the German" at Regensburg, and that they were baptized on the 1st of January, 845. It is very probable that these nobles had been obliged to fly from Bohemia in consequence of one of the many feuds that then desolated the country, and that they hoped by accepting the Christian faith to secure German aid against their internal enemies.

Christianity introduced through the agency of Germany was not likely to gain many adherents, as the Christian faith was necessarily in the eyes of the Bohemians connected with the hostile German race. It was from the east that Christianity completely and permanently penetrated into Moravia and Bohemia. In 862 the Moravian Prince Rostislav, who, though invested with sovereignty by the Germans had soon renewed the national feuds with them, sent a mission to the court of the Greek Emperor at Constantinople, asking him to send Christian teachers of the Slavonic race to Moravia.

The envoys thus addressed Michael, the then ruler of the Eastern empire: "Our people have rejected paganism and already observe Christian law. But we have no teachers who can in our own language teach us the true Christian faith, so that other countries, seeing this, may follow our example. Send then, O Emperor, such a bishop or teacher, you from whom all good law proceeds."[1] It is probable

[1] Dr. Pastruck, *Dějiny Slovanských apoštolu Cyrilla a Methoda* (History of the Slavic apostles Cyrillus and Methodius).

that these simple words, as noted in the legend, express the true purpose of Rostislav. The mission had, however, undoubtedly also a political purpose. Rostislav and his uncle intended to form a great Moravian empire independent of the Franks, and for this purpose to free themselves from the Frankish hierarchy; for the German priests in Moravia endeavoured to serve the interests of their race, as well as those of their religion.

The emperor Michael received the envoys favourably and selected two priests, the brothers Constantine and Methodius, to accompany them to Moravia. "You are," he said, "citizens of Soluň,[1] and the citizens of Soluň generally speak pure Slavic."

We read that when the brothers started on their journey Constantine brought with him a translation of the Bible written in the language of the Slavic inhabitants of Macedonia. For this translation Constantine used the letters of the new alphabet, which he had himself invented, and which from the name he afterwards assumed became known as the Cyrillic alphabet. It renders with great precision the sounds peculiar to Slavic languages, and it is still largely used in Eastern Europe. This event is undoubtedly of great importance. Not only did the Slavic language thus become a written one, but by its use in religious services it took its position with Latin and Greek as a liturgic language.

The undertaking of the saintly brothers was fully successful. Numerous churches were built, and the inhabitants of Moravia eagerly flocked to the religious services, which were held in the Slavonic tongue. The fame of the new preachers spread beyond the borders of Moravia, and the Slavonic inhabitants of the adjoining districts of Pannonia (Hungary) also accepted the teaching of Constantine and Methodius.

It seems more than probable that the German priests, and particularly the Archbishop of Salzburg, to whose diocese these lands belonged, regarded the brothers as intruders, and attempts were repeatedly made to denounce them to the Holy See as heretics. These attempts were favoured by the Eastern origin of Constantine and Methodius. It became known that they had, while at Constantinople, enjoyed the favour of the patriarch Photius, through

[1] The present Salonike.

whose influence the schism between the Eastern and Western Church took place. It should, however, be noted that the brothers, from the time of their arrival in Moravia, always sided entirely with the Church of Rome.

To justify their conduct before the Pope, the brothers proceeded on their first journey to Rome. Constantine, shortly after their arrival there, feeling his end approaching, entered a monastery and there assumed the name of Cyrillus, by which he is generally known. He died a few weeks afterwards. Shortly afterwards Methodius left Rome and proceeded for a short time to Pannonia, on a visit to Kocel, the prince of that country, who had requested the Pope to send him a priest who was acquainted with the Slavic language. After a short stay in Hungary, Methodius returned to Rome to report to the Pope on the success of his mission. He then returned to Moravia, where he continued almost up to the end of his life to be subject to the persecutions of the German priests. During a third visit to Rome, Methodius obtained from the Pope the title of Archbishop of Moravia and Pannonia, and the formal recognition of the Cyrillic alphabet.[1]

Though we have no direct evidence to the purpose, it seems highly probable that the differences between the German and Slavonic priests were in some sort of connection with the ever-recurring hostilities between Germany and Moravia. In 864 and 868 we again find the armies of the German King Louis attacking the domains of Prince Rostislav, who received assistance from the Bohemians. These wars, in which the Germans do not appear to have been successful, were ended by a treaty; but Rostislav's downfall, which the Germans had so long vainly attempted to achieve, was at last brought about by treachery. Rostislav's nephew, Svatopluk, who governed the district of Neutra under the supremacy of his uncle, allied himself with the Germans. He succeeded in making his uncle prisoner, and delivered him over to Carlomann, son of the German King Louis (870).

[1] Dr. Pastruck's book, to which I have already referred, renders it certain that Methodius in no way opposed the *dogma* of the Roman Church. It also proves that the attitude of the Pope towards Methodius was a somewhat "opportunist" one, perhaps based on the desire to found a Romanist Church with Slavic rites in opposition to the schismatic Photius.

Immediately afterwards Carlomann entered Moravia, conquered the whole country, and appointed two brothers, Margraves of Austria, its governors. The German governors seized the Archbishop Methodius, and delivered him as prisoner to his enemies the German bishops. Shortly afterwards they caused Svatopluk also, whose fidelity they mistrusted, to be imprisoned and sent to Germany. He appears to have ingratiated himself with the German conquerors; for when an insurrection broke out in Moravia, shortly afterwards, he was appointed leader of the German army sent to suppress it.

Svatopluk now requited by treachery the treachery that had been used against him. Deserting the Germans, he put himself at the head of his countrymen, and defeated the Germans in a decisive battle in which both the Austrian Margraves fell (871). Svatopluk, now uncontested lord of Moravia, tried to strengthen his power against the Germans (who were certain again to attack him) by an alliance with the Bohemian Prince Bořivoj—a relation of whom, probably a sister, he subsequently married. The relative positions of Bohemia and Moravia at this period are very uncertain; but it is probable that when Svatopluk's power increased Bořivoj became to a certain extent subject to him.

The following year (872) the Germans again attacked both Bohemia and Moravia; and though they succeeded in penetrating into Bohemia, they were on the whole unsuccessful. After Svatopluk had in the following year carried the war into the enemies' country by attacking Carlomann in Germany, his father, King Louis, who had come to his aid, considered it wiser to enter into negotiations for peace. These negotiations resulted in the treaty of Forcheim (874), which was favourable to Svatopluk, and secured to him the possession of his conquests in Northern Hungary, though under German supremacy.

After this treaty Methodius was released from custody, and returned to Moravia. One of his first deeds after his return was probably the baptism of the Bohemian Prince Bořivoj; both the locality and the exact date of this important event are uncertain.[1] At the same time Bořivoj's

[1] The legend that Bořivoj became a Christian because, dining with Svatopluk, he was requested to sit apart on a low stool, since he, being a heathen, was unfit to sit at table with Christians, is of recent origin, and is treated with contempt by modern Bohemian historians.

wife, Ludmilla, was also received into the Christian Church; and the example she set by her saintly life greatly aided the rapid spread of Christianity in Bohemia. Bořivoj is said to have built several churches: the one at Levy Hradec, near Prague, is specially mentioned as having been built by him, and is the oldest Christian church in Bohemia.[1] The earliest church on the Hradčany hill at Prague is also believed to have been built during the reign of Bořivoj.

In 885 Methodius, "the apostle of the Slavs," died. The numerous legends which supply almost all the evidence concerning him give a very touching account of his death.

Svatopluk of Moravia, after having secured for his country independence from Germany, extended his dominion in all directions, and he soon became the chief of a mighty Slavonic empire. It is equally difficult to specify the limits of his dominion, and the names and number of the minor Slav States that acknowledged his supremacy. We are told that Cracow and the surrounding part of Poland, Silesia, a large part of Northern Germany reaching as far as Magdeburg, and a large part of Northern Bohemia, had probably long before acknowledged his supremacy; but after Bořivoj's death, Svatopluk only recognized his sons Spytihněv and Vratislav as local chieftains (voyvodes) over certain districts, and himself became supreme ruler over Bohemia, thus temporarily effacing the dynasty of Přemysl.

Hostilities between the Germans and the Slavs were renewed not many years after the treaty of Forcheim. In 890 Svatopluk was involved in a great war with the German King Arnulph, an illegitimate son of Carlomann. In 892 Arnulph obtained aid from the wild Magyars or Hungarians, who had then recently appeared in Europe, and whose dwelling-place at that period probably was the present Moldavia.

Svatopluk successfully resisted these various attacks, but the greatness of the Moravian Empire ended with his death (894). The quarrels between two of Svatopluk's sons, Mojmir and Svatopluk, hastened the ruin of the country. The Bohemian Prince Spytihněv seized the opportunity, which the intestine struggles in Moravia afforded him, for the purpose of shaking off Moravian supremacy and re-

[1] This church is still in existence, but was considerably altered in the fifteenth century.

establishing the rule of the dynasty of Přemysl over the whole of Bohemia.

To strengthen himself against Moravia, Spytihněv sought the alliance of Germany; and he and his brother Vratislav appeared at Regensburg, at the court of the German King Arnulph, imploring his aid. Taking into account the close connection then existing between political and ecclesiastical affairs, it seems certain that the Bohemians accepted the supremacy of the Bishop of Regensburg, and with it the Latin liturgy. The Slavonic liturgy, however, also continued side by side with the Latin one: and we find evidence even late in Bohemian history that the memory of the original Eastern origin of Christianity in the country remained unforgotten among the people.

Whilst Germans and Slavs were exhausting their forces in constantly-recurring struggles, the new Asiatic tribe, which the Germans had originally called in to their aid, had widely extended its power. The Germans and Slavs now made common cause against the Magyars; but in a great battle which took place at Presburg (907) they were totally defeated. The Magyars now ravaged Germany and the neighbouring Slavonic lands with impunity. About the time of this great battle—the exact date cannot be ascertained in the complete absence of contemporary evidence—the Magyars entirely conquered Moravia, which remained in their power for more than half a century; only a small western district fell to Bohemia.

"The invasion of the Magyars and their establishment in Hungary is one of the most important events in the history of Europe; it is the greatest misfortune that has befallen the Slavonic world during thousands of years. The Slavonic races in the ninth century extended from the frontiers of Holstein to the coast of the Peloponnesus, much divided and disconnected, varying in habits and circumstances, but everywhere able, diligent, and capable of instruction. In the middle of this extended line a centre had been formed by Rostislav and Svatopluk, round which, both by inner impulse and through the force of external circumstances, the other Slavonic tribes would have grouped themselves."[1]

In the complete absence of contemporary records it is impossible to ascertain how Bohemia escaped the fate that

[1] Palacký.

befell Moravia. The ability of the princes of the house of Přemysl, who then ruled over Bohemia, may have largely contributed to preserve the country from the Magyar invaders. Old legends tell us that Vratislav, who about this time succeeded his brother Spytihněv, was a glorious prince, so that we may infer that he was successful in defending the country against its numerous enemies. Vratislav died about the year 920,[1] and after his death dissensions arose in the reigning family. Vratislav left three sons — Venceslas, Boleslav, and Spytihněv, the last of whom died in early youth. The widow of Vratislav, Drahomira of Stodor, daughter of a prince of the still heathen tribe of the Lutices (in the present Lusatia), assumed the guardianship over her two other sons. She is described to us as a proud and imperious woman, who soon became jealous of the influence of her mother-in-law, the saintly Ludmilla, who had educated Prince Venceslas in the Christian faith. She sent murderers to the castle of Tetin, whither Ludmilla had retired, and these, finding her kneeling at prayers, strangled her with her own veil (921). Ludmilla was afterwards canonized as a saint of the Catholic Church.

The regency of Drahomira did not prove advantageous to the country. Bohemia was soon involved in war with Henry the Fowler, the great king who was then reigning over Germany. King Henry had recently subdued many of the Slavonic tribes in the region of the upper Elbe. It is probable that Drahomira incurred his hostility by assisting these tribes, to one of which—the Lutices—she herself belonged; or Henry the Fowler may have considered his victories incomplete, as long as he had not subdued the Slavonic Bohemians also.

Though hostilities had probably begun before, it was in 928 that King Henry entered Bohemia with a large army and advanced as far as Prague. Venceslas, who by this time had assumed the government of the country, felt the impossibility of resisting the German power, and a peaceful settlement was agreed to. Venceslas consented to pay an annual tribute of six hundred marks of silver and one hundred and twenty head of cattle. Venceslas, according to the contemporary records, appears to have been a peaceful and pious prince. We are told that he spent a great part of the night in prayers, and that he was in the habit of him-

[1] The chronology of Bohemia is at this time still very uncertain.

self cutting off the wheat and grapes that the priests required to prepare the holy wafers and the wine for the sacrament. His great generosity to churches seems to have caused discontent among some of the nobles; and the ambition of Venceslas's younger brother Boleslav induced him to become the head of a conspiracy against the prince. Wenceslas had the pious habit of attending the anniversaries of the foundation of churches—posviceni, as they are called in Bohemia—in every part of his dominions, and on the invitation of his brother he repaired for a festivity of this description to Stará Boleslav, where Boleslav then resided.

On his way to early mass on the 28th of September, 935, Wenceslas was attacked by his brother and other conspirators, and murdered after a brave defence. Wenceslas was canonized by the Catholic Church, and the 28th of September is still one of the great religious festivals of Bohemia.

Boleslav, surnamed the Cruel, now became sovereign of Bohemia. He was "one of the most powerful monarchs that ever occupied the Bohemian throne."[1] He greatly extended the frontiers of the country, and also consolidated it internally. His reign began with a renewal of the intermittent but ever-recurring war against Germany. Probably King Henry considered the murder of his ally Wenceslas as a sufficient reason for resuming hostilities.

Henry died before he had had time to open the campaign; but in 938 the powerful king and emperor Otho I, who succeeded him, sent two armies into Bohemia. Though the records of this war are very obscure, it seems probable that Boleslav succeeded in defending his country against the invaders, at least for a time; it is also reported that he succeeded in subduing some of the Bohemian nobles who had allied themselves with the national enemy. War now continued between the two countries with varying success, but few details concerning this struggle have reached us. We read that in 946 the Bohemian prince sent hostages to Otho; but this evidently does not indicate a decisive victory of the Germans, for in 950 Otho himself entered Bohemia with a great army. Boleslav, seeing that his forces were insufficient to resist the whole power of the victorious Emperor, consented again to pay the tribute which Wenceslas had promised. Boleslav henceforth lived

[1] Palacký.

on peaceful terms with his western neighbours, attempting rather to extend his dominion in the direction of the east.

In the year 955 we find the Bohemians as allies of the German monarch. The Magyars, or Hungarians, who ever since the battle of Presburg had almost annually ravaged Western Europe, in that year attacked Germany with greater force than before. They were, however, signally defeated in a great battle near Augsburg—one of the most sanguinary and decisive battles fought during the Middle Ages. A Bohemian contingent of a thousand men formed part of the victorious army, but Boleslav himself, with the greater part of his troops, remained to guard the frontiers of Bohemia. The defeated Hungarian army, having attempted to force a passage through Bohemia, was completely defeated by Boleslav, who took the Hungarian leader, Lehel, prisoner.

We have very little information as to the successful wars that filled up the later years of the reign of Boleslav. Only a list of the lands which he conquered has reached us. He probably, soon after his victory over the Hungarians, succeeded in freeing Moravia from their domination and in uniting it with Bohemia. We learn that Boleslav also conquered a large part of the present Hungary—the wide lands between the Carpathian mountains and the Danube.

The country north of the Carpathian mountains, then known as Croatia,[1] is also included among the countries then subject to the Bohemian princes; but we have little knowledge whether the conquests in this country were made by Boleslav I, or by his son. It is, however, certain that the possessions of Boleslav I at this period joined the territory of the Polish dukes, and amicable relations were established between the two princes. Boleslav married his daughter Dubravka to the Polish Duke Mieceslav I, and her influence over her husband induced that still heathen prince to accept the Christian faith. His conversion was soon followed by that of his subjects.

Boleslav I died in 967, and was succeeded by his son Boleslav II, surnamed the Pious. It seems probable that the natural detestation that the old chroniclers felt for one

[1] This Croatia, the extant and geographical position of which is very uncertain, must not be confused with the present Croatia. It was probably situated in the lands north of the Carpathians now known as Galicia.

who had obtained the throne by the murder of his brother induced them somewhat to praise Boleslav II at the expense of his father, and to attribute to him conquests that had already been made by Boleslav I. It is certain that early in the reign of Boleslav II we find the Bohemian frontiers more widely extended than at any other time, even during the reigns of Ottokar II and Charles IV.

Besides Bohemia itself, Moravia, a large part of Hungary stretching from the Carpathians to the Danube, the greater part of Silesia including Breslau, wide districts of Poland reaching nearly up to the town of Lemberg, and touching the frontiers of the Russian rulers of Kiew, were subject to Boleslav II.

The great power acquired by Boleslav allowed him to assume a more independent attitude towards the German kings; and ecclesiastical affairs then being so intimately connected with the political situation, he now endeavoured to render the Bohemian Church less dependent on Germany.

On the occasion of an interview with the Emperor Otho (973), Boleslav obtained his consent to the separation of Bohemia, and the wide lands then incorporated with it, from the diocese of Regensburg. Prague was to become the seat of a bishopric; and the Pope gave his consent, though under the express conditions that the new bishopric was not to be considered a continuation of the old Moravian archbishopric, and that the liturgy should be the Latin, not the Slavonic one, which still had many adherents in the country. The Bohemian bishopric was also placed under the supremacy of the German archbishops of Maintz. On the proposal of Boleslav, Thietmar, a German who had long lived in Bohemia and was thoroughly versed in the language of the country, was, by the clergy, the nobles, and the people, elected first bishop of Prague (973).

Thietmar only lived nine years after his election, and Adalbert or Voytech, a Bohemian noble, son of the voyvode of Libitz, was then chosen as bishop. It was through the efforts of Adalbert that Christianity was finally established in Bohemia; for the German priests of the diocese of Regensburg, to which the country had formerly belonged, had made little impression on the people, whose language they mostly did not understand.

Adalbert, however, found the ruling of his extensive diocese very difficult, and his efforts to extirpate polygamy

and other still-prevailing heathen customs unsuccessful. Becoming discouraged, he obtained permission to retire to Rome, where he entered a convent; but he returned to Bohemia three years later on the urgent request of Prince Boleslav. Adalbert, however, later again left Bohemia in consequence of a feud with other nobles, in which his brothers had become involved, and in which Boleslav had taken the part of their enemies. The castle of Libitz, to which Adalbert's brothers had retired, was stormed, and they were put to death by order of Boleslav. Adalbert himself died as a martyr (997) during a journey in the country of the heathen Prussians, whom he had attempted to convert to the Christian faith.

The reigns of Boleslav I and II are memorable for the great centralization of the sovereign power which was achieved by these princes. It has been mentioned [1] that the Bohemian princes originally only governed directly a certain part of the country—the centre of which was probably the castle of the Vyšehrad near Prague—and that they only exercised a certain ill-defined supremacy over the voyvodes who ruled the other parts of Bohemia. This organization, or rather absence of organization, had led to innumerable feuds among the voyvodes, as well as to constant revolts on their part against the prince. The Bohemian historians, referring to this period, give numerous descriptions of these small intestine wars, which have been omitted here as being of no interest to English readers.

Boleslav I and II succeeded in successfully subduing these local rulers; and after the death of the lords of Libitz, mentioned above, there was no hereditary voyvode in Bohemia except the prince. Bohemia was henceforth only divided into districts (župa), at the head of each of which a župan (burgrave) appointed by the prince was placed.

These government officials soon formed a new nobility, which gradually took the place of the old territorial nobles or voyvodes. During the powerful reigns of the two first Boleslavs the princely authority was greatly strengthened, and the assemblies or Diets which still took place ended by having a merely nominal character; their purpose was rather to hear the prince's will than to formulate the wishes of the people.

[1] See page 9.

Boleslav II died in 999, and with him for a time also the greatness of his country, which rapidly declined during the rule of his successors.

CHAPTER III

THE BOHEMIAN PRINCES FROM THE DEATH OF BOLESLAV II TO THE ACCESSION OF PŘEMYSL OTTOKAR I (999–1197)

THE great Bohemian Empire of Boleslav II, like most Slavonic States at that and even later periods, was not destined to be of long duration. As after the death of Vratislav I of Bohemia and Svatopluk of Moravia, dissensions in the reigning family were the first cause of the decline of the country. Boleslav II had three sons—Boleslav III, who succeeded him, Jaromir, and Ulrich.

Boleslav III is described as being cruel, avaricious, and distrustful. An old chronicler [1] tells us that he "vice basilisci noxii regnans populum ineffabiliter constrinxit." The dissensions between Boleslav and his brothers appear to have begun immediately after their father's decease; and in the very year of the death of Boleslav II (999) the Polish Prince Boleslav, surnamed Chrobri (the Brave), son of the Bohemian Princess Dubravka, invaded the territories of his brother-in-law. Boleslav (the Brave), first attacked and stormed Cracow; the Bohemian garrison of which town was slaughtered after a brave defence. We are told that in the almost incredibly short period of one year Boleslav the Brave also conquered Moravia, Silesia, and the whole dominion over which Boleslav II had reigned, with the exception of Bohemia itself. Poland now for a time took the place of Bohemia as the great West-Slav power.

Boleslav III, entirely occupied by the internal divisions of Bohemia, seems to have made little or no effort to defend the dominion to which he had succeeded. Having driven his two brothers out of Bohemia, he hoped now to reign uncontestedly; but the Bohemian nobles and people, to whom his tyranny and cruelty had become intolerable, called to the throne the Polish Prince Vladivoj, a brother of Boleslav the Brave, and son of the Bohemian Princess

[1] Thietmar of Merseburg, quoted by Palacký.

Dubravka. Boleslav III was obliged to fly from Bohemia, and after wandering through Germany at last sought refuge with his former enemy, Boleslav the Brave of Poland. In the meantime Vladivoj, finding that the dynasty of Přemysl, whose claims in consequence of the crimes of Boleslav III now reverted to his brothers Jaromir and Ulrich, had still many adherents, endeavoured to strengthen his hold on Bohemia by German aid.

He therefore appeared at the court of the German King Henry II at Regensburg, and not only consented to the payment of the tribute which had already been extorted from several Bohemian princes, but also became a vassal of the German monarch under the (German) title of duke. Vladivoj only ruled Bohemia a few months, and died in the year 1003. The Bohemians now recalled Jaromir and his brother, and chose the former for their prince; but his reign also was only of a few months' duration. His brother, Boleslav III, who had fled to Poland, now returned to Bohemia, under the protection of the Polish Prince Boleslav the Brave. Boleslav III had hardly reassumed the government of the country when he attempted to revenge himself on those who had formerly caused his downfall. By his order many of the nobles were murdered at a banquet, and the Bohemians again revolted against the tyrant.

Called in by the Bohemians themselves, Boleslav the Brave again entered their country, and after having caused his brother-in-law to be blinded and imprisoned in Poland, he himself assumed the government of Bohemia. We are told that he meditated making Prague the capital of his vast dominions, and that he preferred Bohemia to his more eastern possessions.

The great power of Boleslav the Brave soon became obnoxious to the Germans, who always considered the existence of a strong Slav power on their frontier as a danger. The German King Henry II sent envoys to Boleslav the Brave, requiring him to acknowledge himself a vassal of the German Empire in respect of the newly-conquered Bohemia. Boleslav refused this proposal, and war with Germany broke out (1004). The princes of the house of Přemysl, Jaromir and Ulrich, entered Bohemia as allies of the Germans, and with the aid of sympathizers in the town succeeded in capturing Prague by surprise, and expelling the Poles from it, even before the Germans had

arrived before the city. With German aid the Poles were driven out of Bohemia, and Jaromir ascended the throne with the sanction of the German king, probably—though this is not positively mentioned—under the condition of paying the former tribute. The Bohemians continued the war against Poland as allies of the German king up to the year 1013, when Henry II made peace with Boleslav the Brave. By this treaty Boleslav was to retain all his conquests, with the exception of Bohemia, that country being thus reduced to its narrowest limits, its natural frontier.

Even their great misfortunes did not induce the princes of the house of Přemysl to desist from their family quarrels. About this time Ulrich revolted against Jaromir; and both brothers appealing to the German king, Henry II, for reasons which are not stated by the chroniclers, awarded the crown to Ulrich. He also caused Jaromir, who had sought refuge with him, to be delivered over to his brother, by whose orders he was imprisoned in the castle of Lysa.

The only two remaining princes of the house of Přemysl[1] having no descendants, it seemed at this period probable that Libussa's prophecy would prove untrue; but the old chroniclers tell us that the extinction of the race of Přemysl was averted by a romantic incident. When Prince Ulrich —whose wife was childless—was returning from a hunting expedition to his castle of Postelberg, he rode through the village of Peruc, and saw a young and beautiful maiden who was washing linen at a fountain.[2] Ulrich immediately became violently enamoured with this maiden, whose name was Božena, and he married her.[3] She became the mother of the brave and handsome Břetislav, the restorer of the greatness of Bohemia.

The power of Poland, which country had for some time taken the place of Bohemia as the most powerful West-Slav State, did not outlast the life of Boleslav the Brave. After his death (1025) dissensions broke out among his sons, and both Hungary and Bohemia became involved in these intestine dissensions. Ulrich sent an army under his brave son Břetislav into Moravia, which the Bohemians always

[1] Boleslav III had died in prison in Poland.

[2] Božena's fountain is still shown at Peruc.

[3] The old chroniclers insist on this marriage to vindicate the legitimacy of Břetislav, and there is no doubt that polygamy lingered in Bohemia some time after the Christian faith had been accepted.

considered a dependency of their crown, but which at that time was also claimed by the Hungarian King Stephen. Břetislav succeeded in defeating the Hungarians; and war was ended in 1031 by a treaty which divided the ancient Moravian lands. The country now known as Moravia returned to Bohemia, whilst the other former Moravian lands (now the Slav districts of Northern Hungary) fell to the Hungarian king. The line of boundary then agreed upon has remained the frontier between Moravia and Hungary up to the present day. Ulrich appointed his son Břetislav ruler of Moravia under his own supremacy, and this position has since then often been held by the heir of the Bohemian crown.

Unfortunately, Ulrich soon became jealous of his son and drove him from Moravia. Břetislav, who had also incurred his father's displeasure by taking the part of his uncle Jaromir (whom Ulrich had released from the castle of Lysa and who claimed to share the sovereignty with his brother), fled to the court of the German Emperor Conrad. The Germans, ever glad of an opportunity for interfering in the affairs of Bohemia, supported the claims of Jaromir and Břetislav, and invaded the country, into which they were summoned by some claimants to the Bohemian throne. Ulrich's death at this time (1037), however, secured the crown to Břetislav, in whose favour Jaromir also renounced all claims.

Břetislav I, whom Palacký calls the restorer of Bohemia, strengthened his country both by conquests and by re-establishing internal order. One of the chief causes that defeated Břetislav's plans (and undoubtedly these plans aimed at nothing less than the formation of a great West-slav empire) was the accession about this time of Henry III of Franconia, one of the most powerful sovereigns Germany ever possessed.[1] Poland, at the time of the accession of Břetislav I, was in a state of complete anarchy, and he seized on this opportunity to attempt the conquest of that country. Břetislav successfully overran Silesia and subsequently the western districts of Poland, where the town of Cracow was taken by storm. The victorious Bohemian army then marched further into Poland and captured

[1] Palacký notices that the most enterprising princes of ancient Bohemia, Boleslav I and Břetislav I, were contemporaries and adversaries of Germany's two greatest emperors, Otho I and Henry III.

Gnesen, the former capital of the country. The body of St. Adalbert, the former Bishop of Prague (who had suffered martyrdom near Gnesen and was interred there), was carried away to Prague by the victorious Bohemians (1039).

Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Poland now being united under one ruler, the idea of a West-Slav empire seemed on the point of being realized; but this time also Germany stepped in to prevent the formation of a powerful Slav State on her borders. Queen Richsa of Poland, who governed that country for her infant son, appealed to the German Emperor Henry III for aid, which was immediately granted. In the following year (1040) two German armies attacked Bohemia.

The one commanded by the Emperor himself attempted to enter the country from Bavaria, but was signally defeated in a great battle which was fought in the defiles of the Sumava (Bohemian forest), the woody mountains that then, as now, form the frontier between Bavaria and Bohemia. In consequence of this defeat the other German army, which had entered Bohemia by the Krušné Hory (Ore Mountains), by order of the Emperor also retired into Germany.

The Germans were, however, not long in seeking revenge, and again attacked Bohemia in the following year (1041). The western army, again commanded by the Emperor, succeeded this time—guided by a German hermit—in crossing the passes of the Šumava. The other German army entered Bohemia through the Krušné Hory almost without resistance, through the treachery of the leader of the Moravian troops, to whom Břetislav had entrusted the defence of that part of the frontier. When the victorious German armies had arrived before Prague, Břetislav was obliged to conclude peace on very unfavourable conditions. He submitted to paying tribute to Germany, and was obliged to give up all his conquests in Poland. Only Moravia and a small part of Silesia remained with Bohemia.

The later years of Břetislav I were peaceful, and from the scanty records of his reign it appears that he exerted himself to restore order and prosperity to a country that had suffered so much from civil and foreign wars. Břetislav also established a regular order of succession to the throne, to obviate the constant struggles among the members of the reigning family (1054). With the consent of the nobles he

decreed that the oldest member of the house of Přemysl was alone to be sovereign ruler of Bohemia, which was always to remain undivided. The younger princes of the reigning family were to receive lands in Moravia, which they were to rule under the supremacy of the head of the Přemyslide dynasty.

Břetislav I died in 1055, and left five sons, the eldest of whom, Spytihněv, who had been ruler of Moravia during his father's lifetime, succeeded him. Spytihněv only reigned six years, and was succeeded by his eldest brother Vratislav (1061);[1] whilst the government of Moravia was—under the supremacy of Vratislav—divided between two of the younger brothers, Conrad and Otho; the former of whom was to reside at Brunn, the latter at Olmütz.

Bohemia having long been to a certain though limited extent dependent on the powerful German Empire, it was inevitable that the country should become involved in the internal troubles which at that time broke out in Germany. A great number of German princes had taken the part of Gregory VII in that struggle with Henry IV—who had in the meantime succeeded his father—which is known in history as the "struggle for investitures." Vratislav sided with the Emperor, and successfully availed himself of the opportunity which the dissensions in Germany afforded for the purpose of strengthening the independence and increasing the power of Bohemia. The Bohemian troops took part as allies of the German Emperor in the many battles that he fought against the Saxons and other supporters of the Pope; and we are specially told that Henry IV's great victory at Hohenburg on the Unstrutt (1075) was largely due to his Bohemian allies. We also read that three hundred Bohemian warriors formed part of the Emperor's army which attacked Rome (1081), and that their leader, Wiprecht of Groitsch, was one of the first to scale the walls of the Leonine city. The chroniclers also tell us that the bravery of the Bohemians was so great, that only nine of the three hundred returned to their native land.

It was only natural that the German Emperor should reward the Bohemian prince who had proved his friend when the greater part of Germany had deserted him. Henry awarded to Vratislav the lands of the Margrave of Austria, who had sided with the Pope; but though Vratislav

[1] II as prince, I as king of Bohemia.

defeated the Austrians in the great battle of Mailberg (1082) he did not succeed in permanently retaining their country. In 1086 the Emperor, as a further reward, granted Prince Vratislav the title of king, and presented him with a golden crown. The coronation of Vratislav at Prague is an event of great importance in Bohemian history, for the title of king was then for the first time borne by a ruler of that country. Henry, however, stipulated that the title of king should only be used by Vratislav himself, and should not be hereditary. It was settled, probably at the same time, that in consequence of the sums lent by Vratislav to the Emperor the former tribute should no longer be paid by the Bohemian prince. They were, however, obliged to send three hundred soldiers as auxiliaries to the German kings on the occasion of their expeditions to Italy, which were undertaken for the purpose of being crowned at Rome by the Pope. Henceforth, down to the fifteenth century, this remained the only real charge and obligation by which Bohemia was permanently rendered dependent on the supremacy of the German Empire.[1]

The dissensions among the reigning family, so frequent in the history of Bohemia, did not cease under King Vratislav. We read of conflicts between him and his brothers, the rulers of Moravia, and a serious quarrel broke out in 1092 between the king and his eldest son, Břetislav. Břetislav, having been insulted by a courtier of his father named Zderad, caused him to be murdered, and fled to the Hungarian court, where he remained until his father died. Vratislav was killed by a fall when out hunting (1092), and was succeeded by his brother Conrad, as the family regulations made by Břetislav I awarded the throne to the eldest member of the house of Přemysl, not to the eldest son of the late reigning prince.

Conrad only lived eight months after his accession to the throne, and Břetislav II now became prince of Bohemia. We are told that he greatly exerted himself to extirpate paganism, which still lingered in the outlying districts of Bohemia; and that he forbade the pilgrimages which the heathen in Bohemia still undertook to the pagan sanctuary of Arcona,[2] their temples in Bohemia having been destroyed.

As a proof that the custom of holding religious services

[1] Palacký.

[2] On the island of Rügen in the Baltic Sea.

in the language of the country had not died out in Bohemia at this period, it is of interest to read that Břetislav II availed himself of dissensions among the Slavonic monks of the monastery of St. Prokop on the Sazava, for the purpose of driving them out of their convents and replacing them by Latin monks (1096). Břetislav II is greatly blamed by Bohemian historians for having changed the order of succession established by his grandfather, Břetislav I, by appointing his brother Bořivoj his successor, in opposition to the just claims of Ulrich, son of Conrad, then the eldest prince of the dynasty of Přemysl. Břetislav II was murdered shortly after this (1100), probably by the emissary of some nobles whom he had offended.

The wearisome dissensions in the reigning family of Bohemia began afresh immediately after Břetislav's death, but a detailed account of them can be of little interest to any but Bohemian readers. These dissensions were encouraged by the nobles of the land, who, at first mere officials appointed by the princes,[1] were now gradually assuming a more independent attitude. The foundations of the princely power, such as it had developed itself since the final overthrow of the former hereditary voyvodes, were undermined. The new nobles, aware of the advantages which dissensions in the reigning family afforded them, incited the Přemyslides one against the other as much as in them lay; caused wars between them; enriched themselves, and raised their own power to the prejudice of that of the prince.[2]

Bořivoj, according to the decision of his brother, ascended the throne, and at first successfully defended himself against Ulrich, son of Conrad, who considered himself the rightful heir to the throne. Bořivoj was, however, dethroned shortly afterwards by another cousin, Svatopluk, son of Otho, lord of Olmütz. His short reign is only a record of incessant struggles with the all-powerful nobles, by one of whom he was assassinated (1109), after having ruled Bohemia only two years.

After Svatopluk's death there were three parties in Bohemia—one favouring the reinstatement of Bořivoj, whilst another recognized Otho of Olmütz, brother of Svatopluk, as sovereign. A third party, which ultimately proved successful, supported Bořivoj's brother, Vladislav.

[1] See Chapter II. [2] Tomek.

The rival competitors—as usual—appealed to the German Emperor (then Henry V), who, though he appears to have lured them all with promises, finally awarded the throne to Vladislav. Civil war continued till Henry V, called in by Vladislav, entered Bohemia. Bořivoj was made a prisoner, and, by order of the German Emperor, imprisoned in a castle on the Rhine; whilst Otho was confined by his cousin in the castle of Pürglitz in Bohemia. Bořivoj's adherents continued the civil war; and Soběslav, a brother of Vladislav and Boleslav, became their leader. Soběslav obtained aid from the Polish King Boleslav, who, entering Bohemia, defeated Vladislav in a battle which was fought at the foot of the Krkonoše or Giant mountains.

A compromise was then arrived at (1111), by which at least temporary tranquillity was restored to Bohemia. Vladislav remained sovereign, whilst certain districts, both in Bohemia and in Moravia, were allotted to Bořivoj and Soběslav—and probably also to Otho—which they were to rule under the supremacy of Vladislav.

Vladislav died in 1125, and a few days before his death declared his brother Soběslav his successor. As usual, the discarded claimant to the throne, Otho, applied for German aid, and the Emperor Lothair, who in this year (1125) succeeded Henry V, also followed the example of his predecessors, and took up Otho's cause. Lothair seized this opportunity for reaffirming certain claims of supremacy which the German sovereigns had always maintained, but which the Bohemians had always refused to recognize. He declared that no prince had a right to ascend the Bohemian throne before having received that country as a fief from the rulers of Germany. Soběslav refused to recognize these claims, and in spite of the intestine divisions he seems to have been supported by his countrymen. In a very short time he collected a large army, with which he defeated (at Kulm, near Teplitz) the German troops of Lothair, that had crossed the Giant Mountains. Lothair himself, and the remnants of the German army, were entirely surrounded by the Bohemians. An interview then took place between Lothair and Soběslav, when the latter declared that though always ready to maintain the former agreement between Henry IV and King Vratislav,[1] he could not consent to any further limitation to the indepen-

[1] See page 30.

dence of Bohemia. Lothair consented to these terms, and from this time peace between Germany and Bohemia remained undisturbed for some years.

As a proof of this we read that Conrad III, Lothair's successor, conferred on Soběslav the title of hereditary cupbearer of the Empire, thus granting him a certain influence on the election of the German kings. "Bohemia, which hitherto had only had certain obligations towards its powerful neighbour the German Empire, henceforth also enjoyed certain rights with regard to Germany."[1]

Soběslav seems, on the whole, to have been successful in suppressing the intestine dissensions which constantly broke out afresh, particularly now that the members of the Přemysl dynasty had become very numerous. At a Diet which assembled at Sadska in 1138, he obtained the consent of the nobles to a change in the order of succession, by which his eldest son Vladislav was declared heir to the throne.

Soběslav died two years afterwards (1140). On his death the nobles, who had only consented to the succession of his son from dread of the father, elected Vladislav II,[2] son of Vladislav I and nephew of Soběslav, as their prince.

Vladislav II had probably been elected in the place of his cousin because the nobles hoped to find him more amenable to their wishes; but, relying on the German alliance which he maintained, he soon attempted to rule as an autocrat. An insurrection broke out only two years after the beginning of his reign, and the malcontents, among whom was Vladislav, son of Soběslav, now proclaimed another member of the Přemysl dynasty, Conrad of Znoymo,[3] as their prince.

Vladislav, though at first defeated by the insurgents, finally—with the aid of the German Emperor Conrad—succeeded in re-establishing his sovereign rights over the whole of Bohemia and Moravia (1143).

We read that in the same year the Pope sent Cardinal Guido as his legate to Bohemia, with the mission of re-establishing order among the Bohemian clergy, which had been greatly disturbed during the many civil wars. Cardinal

[1] Tomek.

[2] II as prince, I as king of Bohemia; this Vladislav must not be confounded with his cousin Vladislav, son of Soběslav.

[3] In German Znaym.

Guido was also instructed to affirm the regulations of the Roman Church with regard to the celibacy of the clergy, and he decreed that all married priests were either to separate from their wives, or to renounce their dignities.[1]

During the reign of Vladislav II the second crusade took place. The Bohemian prince took part in this crusade, the leaders of which were his ally the Emperor Conrad III, and King Louis VII, of France. Vladislav himself led the Bohemian forces to the East; but, discouraged by the unfavourable results of the campaign, he left his army in Asia, and, recommending his troops to the protection of the French king, returned to his country by way of Constantinople.[2]

After the death of the German Emperor Conrad III (1152), the relations between his successor Frederick I (Barbarossa) and Vladislav were at first somewhat strained. The German sovereign favoured the claims of several of the Přemysl princes who had appealed to him; and he occupied Upper Lusatia, which Vladislav, after the extinction of the line of local rulers, claimed as a fief of the Bohemian crown.

A settlement was soon arrived at, as Frederick Barbarossa at that time desired to collect a large army against Milan and the confederate towns of Northern Italy. By a treaty concluded in 1156 the German king ceded Upper Lusatia to the Bohemian prince, and also conferred the title of king on him and all his successors.

On the other hand, Vladislav promised to join the German army in its march to Italy with a large force, though the former treaties only obliged him to send three hundred auxiliaries. Vladislav assembled an army of ten thousand men; and we are told that this campaign, more than any previous one, spread the fame of the bravery of the Bohemians through the most distant lands. The Bohemian army took part in the siege of Milan, and

[1] It may be noticed as a proof of how frequent marriage at that time was among the Bohemian clergy, even of the highest rank, that we find Jurata provost of Prague, Peter dean of the cathedral of Prague, Hugo provost of Vyšehrad, Thomas dean of the cathedral of Olmütz, mentioned among the married ecclesiastics.

[2] Palacký tells us that while at Constantinople Vladislav concluded a treaty with the Greek Emperor Emanuel, and that he was henceforth by the Greeks considered as a vassal of their Emperor. Palacký gives us no details as to these mysterious negotiations.

Vladislav himself is said to have killed Dacio, one of the leaders of the Milanese, on the occasion of a sortie. After the capitulation of Milan, Vladislav II returned to his country, and arrived at Prague towards the end of the year 1158.

Not long after this (1164) Vladislav became involved in a war that had broken out in Hungary, between two rival claimants to that throne. In this war also Vladislav II was victorious; and he succeeded in establishing Stephen III, who had invoked his aid, on the throne, though the rival claimant had obtained aid from the Greek Emperor.

In 1173 Vladislav, tired out by his many wars, and perhaps still more by the internal dissensions which still continued, abdicated in favour of his eldest son Frederick, and retired to the monastery of Strahow near Prague.

The years following the abdication of Vladislav are noticeable because of the uninterrupted struggle for supremacy between numerous members of the dynasty of Přemysl, in twenty-four years no less than ten changes occurring in the person of the sovereign. As Palacký himself tells us that the genealogy of the family of Přemysl at this period is very obscure, it could be of no interest to attempt to decide the legitimacy of the claims of the various pretenders, or to give a detailed account of the feuds which ensued. It is of more interest to note that in consequence of these civil wars, the authority of Germany over Bohemia became far greater than before.

Frederick was, almost immediately after his accession, driven from the throne by Soběslav (II), one of his rivals (1174). Soběslav maintained himself for some time with the aid of Frederick Barbarossa, who recognized him as Prince of Bohemia, though he decreed that the title of king should no longer be borne by the rulers of that country. The German Emperor, however, soon changed sides. Encouraged by him, Frederick returned to Bohemia (1178), and waged war against Soběslav up to the time of the latter's death (1180). Frederick, unfortunately, soon found a new rival in Conrad of Znoymo, also a prince of the Přemysl dynasty. Frederick was again obliged to fly from Bohemia; and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa now summoned Conrad and the Bohemian nobles who adhered to him, to appear at the Imperial court at Regensburg, as he claimed the right to settle the dissensions in Bohemia.

Conrad and the Bohemian nobles obeyed the Imperial command, and thus tacitly admitted the claims of Frederick Barbarossa. The Emperor awarded Bohemia to Frederick, and Moravia to Conrad; and we are told, as a proof of the terrorism he exercised, that when the Bohemian prince and nobles appeared before him to hear his decision, he caused a large number of executioners' axes to be brought into the hall where he received them.

This settlement was not of long duration. Besides the two candidates already mentioned, the Přemysl princes Venceslas, Přemysl Ottokar, a brother of Frederick, Břetislav, and Vladislav, all claimed the throne about this time. Another prolonged struggle ensued, and it was only after the deaths of Frederick, Conrad, and Břetislav, and the renunciations of Venceslas and Vladislav, that Přemysl Ottokar became undisputed ruler of Bohemia (1197); the government of Moravia fell to Vladislav, with the title of margrave, and under the supremacy of Přemysl Ottokar.

The period in the history of Bohemia which ends with the accession of Přemysl Ottokar I is noticeable for two important facts—the rise of the power of the nobility, and the extension of German influence.

The constant struggle between the Přemyslides had very often obliged them to seek aid from the powerful nobles, who from having been government officials had gradually become territorial magnates, as they demanded and received large grants of land from the princes whose cause they favoured. These lands were usually granted as hereditary gifts, and their owners therefore became less dependent on the favour of the reigning prince, though they still desired to hold the great State appointments, and, indeed, soon began to consider themselves as having an exclusive claim on them. It is an interesting proof of the increasing importance of the nobility that some of the oldest noble families of Bohemia—a few of whom are still represented—are able to trace their origin up to this period; surnames, however, were not yet fixed.

The influence of Germany over Bohemia became greater at this period, both with reference to the external relations to that country and as regards the internal condition of Bohemia. Legally, the only bond which denoted the dependency of Bohemia on Germany was the obligation of sending three hundred soldiers to take part in the Italian expeditions of

the German kings; but when, as at this period, Germany was strong and Bohemia weak, and divided against herself, the German kings claimed and exercised far greater rights; they, in fact, claimed the power of nominating the sovereigns of Bohemia, or at least of confirming their election.

We have already read by what arguments Frederick Barbarossa persuaded the Bohemian nobles to accept his settlement of their differences; and Henry VI is even said to have promised the crown of Bohemia to Přemysl Ottokar on payment of 6000 marks of silver.

While Bohemia thus became more dependent on Germany, the German element also acquired greater importance in the country itself. As early as the end of the eleventh century a small German settlement existed at Prague, which received certain privileges from Soběslav II; the clergy was largely of German nationality, and perhaps from dislike to the custom of holding the religious services in the language of the country—a custom that for a long time partially continued in Bohemia—favoured the German element in every way. Another cause of the spread of the German language and nationality at this period was the circumstance that all the wives of the Bohemian princes, with the exception of the peasant-princess Božena, were of foreign, frequently of German, nationality. These princesses often brought German chaplains and other dependents in their suite, and the Bohemian nobles also acquired the German language, which became to a certain extent the language of the court; the German princesses naturally taught their children their own language from earliest youth.

This feeling is strongly expressed by the contemporary chronicler Dalimil,[1] who makes the Bohemian prince Ulrich say—

"Rather would I entrust myself to a Bohemian peasant girl than that I should take a German queen for my wife. Every heart clings to its own nation; therefore would a German woman less favour my language. A German woman will have German servants; German will she teach my children."

[1] See my *History of Bohemian Literature*, 2nd ed. pp. 29–35.

CHAPTER IV

THE BOHEMIAN KINGS FROM THE ACCESSION OF PŘEMYSL OTTOKAR I TO THE DEATH OF JOHN OF LUXEMBURG (1197–1346)

At the time when Přemysl Ottokar I became undisputed ruler of Bohemia, the internal condition of Germany was favourable to the interests of the Bohemian princes, for whom the only possible policy consisted in maintaining their country's independence from Germany, as far as the political situation enabled them to do so. At this period Bohemia's connection with Germany, formerly so burdensome, suddenly became the source of many advantages. During the internal struggles in Germany the Bohemian king, as the most powerful and the most independent of the princes of the Empire, was able to obtain preponderance for whichever of the claimants to the German crown he favoured.

The German Emperor Henry IV died in the year of Přemysl Ottokar's accession to the throne (1197). The Electors did not agree as to the choice of his successor; while some wished to elect Philip, Duke of Swabia, guardian of Henry VI's minor son, as king, others wished to exclude the house of Hohenstaufen, and to raise Otho, Duke of Brunswick, to the throne.

Ottokar at first sided with Philip, though not before he had obtained some important concessions. Philip renounced all claims to the nomination of the rulers of Bohemia, and contented himself with a nominal right of confirmation. He also renounced all claims to the appointment of the bishops of Prague, and lastly conferred the hereditary title of king on the Bohemian sovereigns for all time. Ottokar was crowned king of Bohemia (1198) at Maintz at the same time as Philip received the German crown. The Bohemian king now became Philip's ally in the civil war that broke out between him and Duke Otho, but the alliance did not continue long.

Philip continued the struggle with the Pope, then Innocent III, which had embittered the reigns of the former emperors of the house of Hohenstaufen. The Pope, in consequence, summoned the German princes to recognize Philip's rival, Otho, as their sovereign. Ottokar was obedient

to the wishes of the Pope; and about the year 1203 we find him fighting in Thuringia on Otho's side against the adherents of Philip. Otho naturally rewarded him by confirming his title as hereditary king; and the Pope also for the first time recognized the kingly title of the Přemysl princes, and guaranteed to them all the privileges they had obtained from the German monarchs (1204). Ottokar seems to have pursued a dynastic policy, striving to increase the power of the house of Přemysl, and alternating in his allegiance between the rival German sovereigns. In 1206 we again find him an adherent of Philip, and it was only after that prince's murder (1208) that he again recognized Otho as king.

Otho, now undisputed ruler of Germany, soon became involved in the same dissensions with the Pope as his former rival; and Innocent III therefore invited the German princes to raise to the throne Henry VI's son, Frederick II, who was afterwards to become so dangerous an enemy to the Papacy. Ottokar was again subservient to the wishes of Rome; and Otho attempted unsuccessfully, though aided by an insurrection in Bohemia, to revenge himself on Ottokar for his desertion. The Bohemian king became an ally of Frederick II, who, besides confirming all former privileges of the Bohemian princes, granted them permission to liberate themselves, whenever they wished it, from the obligation of sending three hundred men to escort the German kings on their journey to Italy by the payment of three hundred marks of silver. Frederick further decreed that the attendance of the Bohemian monarchs at the Imperial Diets should only be obligatory when these assemblies were held in towns near the Bohemian frontier —Bamberg, Nürnberg, and Merseburgh were specified as being such towns. Ottokar was present at Frederick's coronation (1213), and the German king became undisputed ruler after Otho's death (1218).

About this time Přemysl Ottokar, to prevent the renewal of the troubles so often before caused by the uncertainty of the succession, persuaded the Bohemian nobles and Vladislav, Margrave of Moravia, to recognize his son Venceslas, then only eleven years of age, as heir to the throne (1216).

The later years of the reign of Ottokar were troubled by difficulties with the ecclesiastics, of which we have only

scanty and contradictory contemporary records. They seem to have been a reflection of the greater struggle between the German emperors and the popes, which is known as the contest as to investitures. Andrew, bishop of Prague (from the year 1214), seems to have been a priest of an austere but authoritative nature, who carried the claims of the Church further than any of his predecessors had done. He claimed absolute immunity from the temporal law-courts, not only for all ecclesiastics, but also for all their servants and dependents; and, while demanding perfect freedom from taxation for all Church property, he attempted to enforce on the whole country the payment of Church-tithes, to which only certain estates had hitherto been liable. He further denied to laymen all right of conferring ecclesiastical offices, though he himself appears to have accepted investiture from King Ottokar.

These claims were energetically resisted by the king and people of Bohemia; and Andrew, fearing for his life, fled to Rome, and there declared Bohemia to be under interdict. It is curious to notice, as a proof of the independence of the Bohemian clergy, that the interdict—according to which all religious services were to be suspended—was not generally observed, and that the canons of Prague and most of the lower clergy continued to celebrate mass and perform the religious functions as before.

Negotiations between the Pope and the king continued for many years, and a temporary settlement was achieved; Bishop Andrew even returning to Prague (1222). The quarrel, however, broke out afresh almost immediately; Bishop Andrew again fled to Rome, where he died soon after (1224).

Pope Honorius himself succeeded, during the vacancy of the See of Prague, in ending this struggle in a manner favourable to the Church. By an agreement between him and the king, it was decided that the Bishop of Prague should in future be elected by the canons of the cathedral. The right of investiture, which had been exercised first by the German and later by the Bohemian kings, was abolished. This right, as in Germany, appears to have been the principal cause of discord; the minor differences were also settled favourably for the Church. Shortly before his death Ottokar caused his son Venceslas, whom the nobles had already recognized as heir to the throne, to be crowned as

king of Bohemia (1228). Přemysl Ottokar I died in the year 1230.

His successor, Venceslas I, ascended the throne without any opposition, such as had almost always arisen on the occasion of a change in the person of the sovereigns of Bohemia. His reign is notable for the great increase of German influence in his dominions. Přemysl Ottokar I had in the last years of his reign begun to favour the immigration of German colonists to Bohemia, and this immigration became far more extensive during the rule of his son. Venceslas, to encourage the German settlers, granted them a large amount of autonomy, allowing them to administer law in their settlements, independently of the Bohemian law-courts, according to the "law of Magdeburg," which had at that time been accepted by many towns of Northern Germany. Such privileges were first granted (about the year 1235) to the part of Prague where the Germans had settled,[1] then to the Moravian towns, Brno (1243) and Iglau (1250), and later to a considerable number of towns in Bohemia. The Germans—partly to defend themselves against the enmity of the Bohemians, partly to mark the limits of their privileged jurisdiction—were allowed to enclose their settlements with walls. The custom of fortifying the cities soon became general in Bohemia.

Perhaps in emulation of the towns, the Bohemian nobles also began to fortify their castles about this time. Following the fashion of the court, they mostly gave their castles German names, and these names soon became the surnames of their owners; indeed, it was only from the reign of Venceslas I that hereditary family names came into use in Bohemia.

There is but little record of the political events during the earlier part of the reign of Venceslas; but we read that Bohemia, as was inevitable, soon became involved in the great struggle between the German Emperor Frederick II and the Popes Gregory IX and Innocent IV. The policy of Venceslas during this contest, dictated as it was entirely by the interests of Bohemia, was not consistent, and he undoubtedly changed sides several times.

[1] The present "old town." The three towns so often mentioned by historians were the old town, new town, and the "small quarter" (Malà Straná).

Almost at the beginning of his reign we find Venceslas at war with Leopold, Duke of Austria (1231), and the King of Bohemia was on the whole successful in this contest. The Emperor Frederick, then his ally, decreed the ban of the Empire against the Austrian duke (1236).

The friendly relations between the German Emperor and the King of Bohemia did not continue long. Frederick's power was at this time (1237) at its height; he had suppressed all insurrectionary movements in Germany, he had at last defeated the Lombards, and had also united the kingdom of the Two Sicilies with the Empire. Though the contemporary records are very obscure, it seems most probable that Frederick now wished again to render Bohemia as dependent of the Empire as it had at one time been. The nominal cause of the quarrel was Frederick's demand that Venceslas should restore to him certain castles on the frontier of Bohemia and Saxony, which had for some time been in the possession of the sovereigns of Bohemia.[1] Venceslas now reconciled himself with the Pope Gregory IX, and on his request became the ally of Duke Leopold of Austria against the Emperor Frederick. Leopold promised to add the part of the Austrian duchy north of the Danube to the Bohemian kingdom; but failing to keep his promise the friendly relations only lasted a short time. These contests between the German princes were suddenly interrupted by a most unexpected event, the invasion of Eastern and Northern Europe by the Mongols or Tartars, as they were generally, though incorrectly, called.

The Tartars left their original homes in Asia, probably North of China and not far from the region of Lake Baikal, in the first years of the thirteenth century, and, conquering all the countries through which they passed on their march, reached the boundaries of Europe. They easily defeated the disunited Russian princes; and when it became known that they had stormed and burnt the cities of Kief (1240) and Cracow (1241), terror spread all through Europe. Bohemia was directly menaced after the defeat of the Polish and Silesian princes by the Tartars at Liegnitz (1241). Venceslas seems to have behaved with courage and prudence in this emergency. He hastily fortified the

[1] The Bohemian frontier, in the direction of Saxony, then extended further to the north-west than at present, reaching as far as the fortress of Königstein.

passes leading from Silesia into Bohemia. When the Tartar army attempted to force these passes they were bravely repulsed by the Bohemian soldiers. After three weeks the Tartars abandoned all hopes of entering Bohemia, and turned their attention to Moravia. They ravaged the open country in Moravia, though they were unable to storm any of the towns.[1] After devastating also Hungary and the neighbouring districts of Lower Austria, the Tartars disappeared from Europe almost as suddenly as they had arrived there.

As soon as the danger from the Tartars had passed over, both the struggle between the Pope and the Emperor, and the feud between Venceslas and Duke Frederick of Austria, which was to a large extent influenced by the greater conflict, began afresh. Venceslas at this period took the part of the Pope, and became one of the supporters of William of Holland, whom the Papal party in Germany had chosen as king (1247).

In the following year a great insurrection broke out among the Bohemian nobles, the causes of which are not certainly known, though the great extravagance of the king appears to have been the principal one. Venceslas's son, Přemysl Ottokar,[2] who now governed Moravia under his father's supremacy, became the leader of the insurgents, who chose him as king.

The pretext for this insurrection was the king's command to his nobles to take part in the crusade which Pope Innocent IV had again decreed against the German Emperor Frederick II. Civil war continued in Bohemia up to the year 1250, when an agreement was arrived at. Přemysl Ottokar made submission to his father, who, on the other hand, again entrusted the government of Moravia to his son.

In the following year the Estates of Austria chose Ottokar as their duke, and he made his entrance into Vienna shortly afterwards. Though his deceased brother had been married

[1] Many legends referring to the defence of the Moravian towns, and particularly of Olomonc, afterwards sprang up ; some of them are reproduced in the so-called MS. of Kralové Dvůr.

[2] Přemysl Ottokar (II as king of Bohemia) was the second son of Venceslas. His elder brother, Vladislas, who had been Margrave of Moravia, and who, during one of the temporary truces between the two countries, had married the daughter of Duke Frederick of Austria, died in 1247.

to the daughter of the last duke of Austria,[1] Ottokar had no hereditary rights to the duchy. In order to strengthen his position by an alliance with the former reigning dynasty, he married Adela, sister of the late Duke Frederick, though she was then forty-six and he only twenty-five years of age.

The duchy of Styria had long been connected with that of Austria, and Ottokar therefore claimed it after his election by the Austrian Estates. He thus became involved in war with Bela, King of Hungary, who had long coveted Styria. Whilst occupied with this war, Ottokar received news of the death of his father, King Venceslas (1253). The necessity of returning to Bohemia induced him to conclude peace with Hungary (1254); and it was settled that while certain districts of Styria—since incorporated with Upper and Lower Austria—were to be made over to Ottokar, the greater part of the disputed lands, consisting of Styria in its present limits, was to be ruled by King Bela's eldest son Stephen, with the title of duke.

Přemysl Ottokar II, who now became ruler of Bohemia, was certainly one of the greatest sovereigns that country has ever had. Though his reign ended disastrously, he undoubtedly for some time raised Bohemia to the rank of a great European Power. The great reproach levelled against him by Bohemian writers is that he unduly favoured the German element; and it is undeniable that he endeavoured by all means to attract German colonists to Bohemia. The towns of Bohemia and Moravia during his reign became almost entirely German, and in consequence of the large degree of autonomy that was granted them, governed themselves according to the old German town-laws.

One of the great motives of Ottakar's policy was, no doubt, the intention of counterbalancing the excessive power of Bohemian nobility by the formation of a middle class, composed of the citizens of the towns; but he may have been influenced by other less obvious considerations. As Duke of Upper and Lower Austria, and later of Styria and Carinthia, Ottokar had become lord of vast German lands, and indeed the most powerful prince of the German Empire, over which he aspired to rule either with the title of king or by his influence over an insignificant and nominal

[1] Frederick II, Duke of Austria, commonly known as "der Streitbare" (the Warlike), died in 1246; he was the last Austrian duke of the Babenberg line.

king.[1] It was therefore good policy for him to strive to hide his Slav origin, and to appear as a German prince ruling over a mainly German population.

At the beginning of his reign Přemysl Ottokar II, aided by several German princes, engaged in a campaign against the heathen Prussians (1255), and after defeating them in several battles succeeded in converting a large part of the population to Christianity. The town of Königsberg was founded at this time, and called after the King of Bohemia.

Probably in consequence of this successful campaign, the German princes (1256) offered the sovereignty of their country to Ottokar. The Bohemian king at this period does not seem to have desired the German crown, but to have favoured the choice of a weak and powerless prince, who would be unable to interfere with his plans for the aggrandizement of Bohemia. Ottokar, therefore, contributed to the election of Richard of Cornwall, with whom he remained on terms of friendship during the whole of his nominal reign.

By the treaty concluded with Hungary in 1254, that country had retained the supremacy over Styria; but this soon became very irksome to the Styrian nobles. In the year 1259 they chose the occasion of a new dispute, that had arisen between King Přemysl Ottokar II and Bela, King of Hungary, for revolting against the Hungarians; and Ottokar, arriving at Gratz in the same year, took possession of Styria and appointed a Bohemian governor of the country.

The Hungarians immediately decided to repel this aggression, and during the following winter they raised an

[1] Though the comparison may seem far-fetched, there is some analogy between Přemysl Ottokar II's policy and that pursued by the Austrian Government during the earlier part of the nineteenth century (1815–1866). Austria, holding the right of presidency over the German Diet at Frankfort, was still nominally the greatest German Power; and the Austrian Government constantly endeavoured, by attempts of "Germanizing" the non-German populations of the Empire, to justify the predominance of that country in Germany. It may be remembered that the Austrian ministers several times attempted to obtain the inclusion of the whole Empire in the Germanic confederation. It is only a natural reaction against this attempted "Germanization" that, since the treaty of Prague (1866) has dissolved all the bands that connected Austria and Germany, the German influence and language have constantly receded and still recede in Austria.

enormous army, which is said to have consisted of 140,000 men. Daniel Romanovic, King of Russia and Prince of Kiew, the Prince of Cracow, and many of the tribes of Eastern Europe, Servians, Bulgarians, and Wallachians, joined the Hungarian standard.

In the meantime Ottokar had also assembled an army of 100,000 men, and—a mountainous country like Styria not being adapted to the movements of enormous armies, which largely consisted of cavalry—the plains on the frontier of Hungary and the duchy of Austria, through which the river March flows, became the seat of war. On the banks of this river, near the village of Kressenbrunn, a great battle took place (1260), in which the Hungarians were defeated with great slaughter; we read that they lost 18,000 men in battle, and that 14,000 more were driven into the river March while flying from the field. King Bela now renounced all rights on Styria; and Ottokar, to strengthen his hold on that country, induced the German King Richard of Cornwall to invest him with it as a fief. After their great defeat at Kressenbrunn the Hungarians, though they were in 1270 already again in arms against Ottokar, avoided meeting the Bohemian army in the open field till they obtained a powerful ally in Rudolph of Habsburg.

In 1268 King Přemysl Ottokar concluded a treaty with his nephew Duke Henry of Carinthia, by which that prince recognized him as his heir in case of his dying without male descendants. On Duke Henry's death in the following year Ottokar was able to add Carinthia, with the dependent lands of Carniola and Istria, part of Friulia, and the town of Pordenone, to his already vast dominions; several towns of Northern Italy, Treviso, Feltre, Verona, and others, also recognized him as their "over-lord"

Ottokar's power had now attained its summit (1269); but dangers arising from the election of a German king already began to menace it. Ottokar was probably not anxious to obtain the German crown, which indeed he had declined before, as long as that crown remained in the hands of King Richard, who had no power of his own in Germany, and was entirely in accord with the Bohemian king.

The death of Richard of Cornwall (1272) caused a complete change in the prospects of Ottokar; his great conquests had aroused the animosity of the German princes, specially of Louis, Count Palatine of Bavaria; and the

choice of the German electors was therefore likely to fall on one of the Bohemian king's many enemies.

Přemysl Ottokar II was thoroughly aware of this animosity, which his Slav nationality [1] probably rendered more bitter, and, consequently, of the difficulties which stood in the way of his obtaining, and far more of his retaining, the German crown. It was only after a declared enemy had been chosen by the German electors that Ottokar, when it was already too late, attempted to obtain the German crown by the aid of the Pope.

On September 29, 1273, Rudolph, Count of Habsburg, was elected German king—unanimously, since the German Electors declared Ottokar's own right of voting as cup-bearer of the Empire to be invalid. The German princes at the same time signed a declaration, according to which all fiefs granted since the death of Frederick II were to be considered as void. This was aimed directly at Ottokar, who had acquired Austria, Styria, and Carinthia since that date. Ottokar disputed King Rudolph's election,[2] and, as mentioned above, appealed to the Pope; but it was from the first moment certain that the fate of war only could settle the difference.

At a Diet held at Regensburg in 1274, Přemysl Ottokar II's rights to all his newly-acquired lands were declared invalid; and his subjects in Austria, Styria, and Carinthia were called on to rise against the Bohemian domination. In 1275 the ban of the Empire was decreed against the Bohemian king; and in the following year (1276) German armies invaded his dominions in all directions, while the Hungarians also chose this moment to seek revenge for their former defeats. Styria and Carinthia were soon conquered by the Germans, a large part of the nobility having deserted the Bohemian cause. The principal German army, commanded by Rudolph in person, entered

[1] Pubitschka (*Chronologische Geschichte von Böhmen*) tells us, quoting from a contemporary chronicler, "Rex Bohemus Odoacrus (Ottokar) nuntios et multam pecuniam et numera ad curiam domini Papae Gregorii transmiserat eo quod ipse ad imperium aspiraret. Papa munera non attendens circumsedentibus dicebat: Cum in Allemania plures principes et Comites habemus quare vellemus *Sclavum* ad imperium sublevare."

[2] Space does not admit of my entering into the controversy as to the election of Rudolph of Habsburg; the details will be found in all histories of Germany or Bohemia dealing with this period.

Austria by Passau, and, rapidly traversing Upper Austria, soon arrived before Vienna.

Ottokar, who appears at first to have expected to be attacked in Bohemia, now hurried to the aid of Vienna, which town bravely resisted the invaders, and seems almost alone to have remained faithful to the Bohemian king. Unfortunately, while the king was in Austria an insurrection against him broke out among the Bohemian nobility. This last blow induced Ottokar to seek for peace and not to risk a battle, the result of which was absolutely certain—seeing that his army, in consequence of numerous defections, consisted of only 20,000 men, while that of his enemies numbered five times that amount.

The conditions of peace were very onerous; Ottokar was obliged to renounce all claims to Styria, Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, Istria, and the towns of Eger and Portenau (Pordenone). He only retained his hereditary lands, Bohemia and Moravia, and recognized Rudolph as his over-lord. A marriage was arranged between Ottokar's son Venceslas, and one of the daughters of King Rudolph.

On November 26, 1276, Ottokar appeared in the German camp to do homage to the German king. In presence of the German princes, most of whom were his bitter enemies, the King of Bohemia bent his knee before Rudolph, who was seated on the throne, swore fidelity to him, and was invested with Bohemia and Moravia as fiefs of the Empire.

It was almost impossible that this settlement should prove definitive. It was difficult for Ottokar to reconcile himself to the loss of the vast dominions of which he had been deprived almost without having struck a blow; on the other hand, Rudolph, and still more Ottokar's enemies at Rudolph's court, did not consider their victory complete till they had completed the humiliation of the proud king of Bohemia.

Dissensions broke out almost immediately. Rudolph attempted to interfere in the internal government of Bohemia to a far greater degree than any of his predecessors

[1] The story, which has been often told—in a most amusing way by Carlyle (*History of Frederick the Great*, Book II, chap. vii)—that Přemysl Ottokar requested to do homage to King Rudolph privately and that the ceremony took place in a tent, the sides of which were suddenly drawn up, is entirely unhistorical. Aenaeas Sylvius (*Historia Bohemiae*, chap. xxvii), who wrote two hundred years after the events, is the first historian who mentions it.

had done, and specially claimed a right of protection over the Bohemian nobles, who, as mentioned before, had rebelled against King Ottokar. The only choice that now remained to the king was between renouncing his inherited independent sovereignty over Bohemia, or again appealing to the fortune of war. Ottokar chose the latter alternative. In the year 1278 he entered Austria with a large army, and advanced to the banks of the river March, near the scene of his former victory at Kressenbrunn. Rudolph was not unprepared, as, not thinking that the former settlement would be final, he had remained in Austria. His army was almost immediately joined by a large Hungarian contingent. On the advance of the Austrians, Ottokar retreated as far as Durrenkrut, and near this place a decisive battle took place on the day of St. Rufus (August 26), a day destined then, not for the last time, to be fatal to Bohemia's kings. Ottokar was decisively defeated, principally through the treachery of Milota of Dědic and other Bohemian nobles. When the Bohemian king saw that the battle was lost he plunged into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and died fighting desperately.

The reign of Přemysl Ottokar II, one of Bohemia's greatest kings, ended with complete disaster; and it is difficult to understand the complete and sudden downfall of such a powerful empire. The fact that Ottokar had, by the privileges he granted the towns, alienated many of the powerful Bohemian nobles, who therefore deserted him in the hour of peril, was undoubtedly one of the principal causes of his downfall. Another still more potent consideration was the question of nationality. Ottokar was, justly or unjustly,[1] accused of favouring the Germans to the disadvantage of his own countrymen, and he had thus become unpopular with the Bohemians. The stimulus of national pride, which has sometimes animated the Bohemians to most heroic deeds, did not therefore incite them to rally round their king, whom many of them considered nearly as much a German as his opponent.

Rarely has the death of one man had such melancholy results for a whole empire. The Bohemian people, vanquished by their enemy in a murderous struggle, were suddenly deprived of the strong hand which for twenty

[1] Palacký, whose national feeling is very strong, yet denies that Přemysl Ottokar II unduly favoured the Germans.

years had held the reins of the State. It was inevitable that the country should now become the scene of internal anarchy as well as the prey of aliens.[1]

Rudolph's victorious army immediately marched into Moravia, and the German king was favourably received by a part of the inhabitants, specially by the population of the Moravian towns, most of whom were Germans. In Bohemia complete anarchy prevailed, and it was at first uncertain who had the strongest right to the guardianship of Ottakar's son Venceslas, then only seven years of age. After some dispute the Bohemian nobles recognized Ottokar's nephew, Otho of Brandenburg, as the guardian of the young Prince Venceslas. Otho appeared in Bohemia with a small force, and the country prepared to resist Rudolph, whose army by this time entered Bohemia.

A treaty was, however, soon concluded (1278) by which at least a temporary settlement was obtained. Otho was to govern Bohemia as Venceslas's guardian for five years and Rudolph Moravia in the same capacity and for the same period. It was also arranged that Venceslas should marry Rudolph's daughter Gutta; and the German king's son Rudolph, Agnes, daughter of the deceased King Ottokar.

Otho of Brandenburg had hardly obtained the government of Bohemia when he began shamefully to misuse the power of guardianship that had been conferred on him. Aided by the German part of the population of Prague he seized the heir to the throne, and imprisoned him in the castle of Bösig. This treachery caused great indignation among the Bohemian nobles, and a great number of them entered into a confederacy for the purpose of rescuing their future sovereign. Civil war broke out while Margrave Otho had temporarily returned to his own country, carrying Venceslas as a prisoner with him to Brandenburg. Otho had left Bishop Everard of Brandenburg, a warlike and unscrupulous prelate, at Prague, as his representative, and the latter energetically defended the margrave's authority.

[1] Palacký.

[2] Recent German historians have endeavoured to defend Otho against the unanimous condemnation of the contemporary chroniclers. Dr Novák has in an interesting article in the *Česky Časopis Historick* (Bohemian historical year-book) proved that the traditional account is correct.

To resist the Bohemians Everard called in a large number of German mercenaries, who, aided by the German settlers in the country, pillaged and ravaged Bohemia in every direction. It was said that the Germans thought the time had come when the Slavs of Bohemia were to share the fate of their countrymen in the formerly Slav lands of Northern Germany. The result of this civil war was just the reverse. The greater part of the Bohemian nobility, indignant at what they considered the insolence of the German townsmen, drew nearer to their own countrymen; and, out of hatred to the Germans, largely abandoned the use of the German language, which had before this time been widely adopted, particularly at the court of the Bohemian sovereigns.

The anarchic state of Bohemia brought about the interference of the German King Rudolph (1280); through his mediation a truce was agreed to, and a Diet assembled at Prague to restore order to the country. It was decided that Otho of Brandenburg should retain the guardianship of Prince Venceslas up to the end of the five years for which it had originally been conferred on him. He was obliged to promise in future to appoint a native only as his representative whenever he should absent himself from Bohemia. He further promised to withdraw his German mercenaries from the country, and to order all Germans, not resident in Bohemia, to leave the country within three days;[1] otherwise they were to be treated as thieves and murderers. Otho lastly promised to allow Venceslas to return to Bohemia on payment of 15,000 marks of silver; but though this agreement was made in 1281, it was not until the year 1283 that the young prince returned to his country.

Though only twelve years of age Venceslas II nominally assumed the government of Bohemia, as the office of guardianship, after the late events, naturally inspired distrust. The real ruler was one of the nobles, Zavis of Falckenstein, with whom Ottokar's widow Kunhuta had formed a connection; on the birth of a son secrecy was no longer possible, and a marriage between Zavis and Kunhuta took place in 1280. Though she died not many years after the marriage Zavis retained the high positions at court that he had obtained through her influence, and became the

[1] All the Bohemian historians agree in stating that only this almost incredibly short respite was granted.

principal councillor of the young king. His influence for a time seems to have been unlimited; and the towns of Landskron and Policka, and the castle of Landsberg, are mentioned as only a few of the many estates that Venceslas granted to him.

Zavis was undoubtedly a great statesman. His policy provided a link between the reigns of Ottokar II and Venceslas II. He constantly reminded the young king of the greatness of Bohemia during the reign of Ottokar.[1] He thus naturally incurred the displeasure of Rudolph, and Habsburg intrigues were undoubtedly the cause of his fall. To secure a foreign alliance Zavis obtained the consent of King Ladislas of Hungary to his marriage with the king's sister Jutta, and after his marriage retired to one of his castles. It is probable that he knew that the Habsburg party at the Bohemian court had already influenced the young king against him; still Zavis, on the birth of a son, requested Venceslas to be present as godfather at the christening; and the king, thinking he had now found an opportunity of ridding himself of his over-powerful vassal, accepted the invitation on condition that Zavis should first come to Prague and escort his sovereign to the castle where the baptism was to take place. On arriving at Prague Zavis was immediately confined in a dungeon; he was accused of having illegally appropriated lands belonging to the Crown, and all his estates were confiscated. The powerful relations of Zavis, supported by other Bohemian nobles, took his part against the king, to whom they refused to give up his castles, which they had occupied with armed forces. Venceslas, it is said, on the advice of the German King Rudolph, resorted to a cruel device for the purpose of subduing their resistance. He obliged his step-father to accompany, as a prisoner, the force with which he besieged the castles held by the rebels, and forced them to capitulate by the menace of immediately putting Zavis to death. The menace was successful in several cases; but when the king's forces arrived before the castle Hluboka,[2] which was held for Zavis by his brother Vitek, the latter, not believing the king capable of the cruel act which he threatened to do, refused to capitulate. Zavis was thereupon decapitated in a meadow just outside of the castle walls in view of his brother

[1] Dr. Novák (in the *Česky Casopis Historicky*).
[2] In German Frauenberg.

It is only from this date that Venceslas can really be said to have reigned over Bohemia. After a short interruption he resumed the policy, hostile to the house of Habsburg, which Zavis had adopted. It is probably for this reason that the contemporary chroniclers—mostly Germans—have done scant justice to Venceslas. Bohemia was certainly very prosperous during his reign, and we read that the silver mines of Kutna Hora, the great source of prosperity for Bohemia in the Middle Ages, were again worked during the reign of Venceslas II. The richness and prosperity of the country at this period no doubt attracted notice in the neighbouring countries, Hungary and Poland, and inspired the people with the wish of also being under the mild rule of King Venceslas.

During more than a hundred years Poland had been in a state of complete anarchy, principally caused by the rival claimants to the throne and by the incessant and ever-varying partitions of the country, which were made to satisfy the numerous pretenders. In the year 1291 Venceslas was requested by a large party in Western Poland to undertake the government of their country. The king consented, and occupied these lands after very slight resistance, assuming the title of Grand Duke of Cracow, from the name of the principal city in the district. A few years later (1300) King Venceslas, again at the request of the Polish nobles, occupied the whole of that country, and was crowned King of Poland at Gnesen. Bohemia and Poland were thus again for a short time under one king.

In the following year, on the extinction of the old royal family of Hungary, a large party in that country wished to elect Venceslas II as king. They sent envoys to Bohemia, and Venceslas declared to them that, being already King of Bohemia and Poland, he feared the burden of another crown, and advised them to elect his son Venceslas, then only twelve years of age, as their king.

King Venceslas may also have thought that his son, because of his youth, would be more likely to adapt himself to the customs of Hungary. The Hungarians followed the king's advice, and the younger Venceslas was crowned as King of Hungary at Stuhlweissenburg (1301), and for some time resided at Ofen, the Hungarian capital.[1]

[1] The first wife of Venceslas, Gutta, daughter of King Rudolph, died in 1298; he shortly afterwards—about the time of his coronation at Gnesen—married a Polish princess.

King Rudolph, father-in-law of King Venceslas, had died in 1291, and, contrary to the expectations of his son Albert, Adolphus, Count of Nassau, had been chosen as Rudolph's successor. Venceslas, between whom and his brother-in-law Albert a personal enmity existed, favoured the election of Adolphus of Nassau. Later on Albert's sister, the Bohemian queen, appears to have exercised her influence over her husband to such an extent, that he at least did not oppose the deposition of Adolphus and the election of Albert. The death of Adolphus of Nassau at the battle of Gellenheim (1208) made Albert undisputed ruler of Germany.

Friendship, however, proved impossible between the kings of Germany and of Bohemia. Albert seems to have been irritated by the power of the Bohemian king in Poland and Hungary; he therefore favoured the Papal cause, when the ambitious Pope Boniface VIII contested the rights of Venceslas over Poland and Hungary, declaring that the right to confer the crowns of both these countries rested with the Holy See. War broke out between Albert and Venceslas (1304), and the German king invaded Eastern Bohemia, hoping to possess himself of the silver mines of Kutna Hora; but he was forced to retreat before the Bohemian armies. In the following year Venceslas II was preparing to invade Austria, when he died suddenly at the age of thirty-four (1305). Though the unfavourable political situation and his early death prevented him from carrying out his ambitious plans, it appears certain that Venceslas for a time seriously contemplated the re-establishment of the great Bohemian empire of his father.

His successor, Venceslas III, was then only sixteen years of age; and as he only reigned one year, it is difficult to understand where the contemporary chroniclers found the materials for their long—mostly unfavourable—reports on his character and his actions. He undoubtedly concluded a somewhat disadvantageous treaty with the German king, to whom he ceded lands (forming part of the present kingdom of Saxony) to the north west of Bohemia that had belonged to his father. On the other hand, Albert promised not to interfere in the affairs of Poland and Hungary; his claim to the latter kingdom, however, Venceslas ceded to the Duke of Bavaria

perhaps despairing of maintaining his hold on the country against the rival claimants.

Though Venceslas had given up his claim to the Hungarian throne, he determined to maintain his hereditary rights upon Poland.

An insurrection against the Bohemians having broken out in that country, Venceslas marched to Poland to suppress it. Before reaching Poland he was murdered at Olomonc [1] by unknown assassins.[2]

The male line of the dynasty of Přemysl, that had reigned over Bohemia nearly six hundred years, thus came to an end.

The sudden extinction of the house of Přemysl left Bohemia without any legitimate successor to the crown. Of the royal family only Elizabeth, widow of Venceslas II, Violet, widow of Venceslas III, and four daughters of the former king remained. The eldest of these daughters, Anne, was married to Henry, Duke of Carinthia, and popular feeling greatly favoured the election of that prince to the throne of Bohemia. Venceslas III had left him as his representative in Bohemia when he started on his expedition to Poland, and it was hoped that by this choice the Přemysl dynasty would be continued in the female line.

The German King Albert, however, declared Bohemia a vacant fief of the Empire, and appointed as king his eldest son Rudolph. The nobles assembled at Prague, and, probably intimidated by the power of the German king, elected Rudolph. They further, on the request of King Albert, who accompanied his son to Bohemia, declared Rudolph's brothers heirs to the throne in case of his death without children. As a concession to the feeling in favour of the old national dynasty, a marriage between Rudolph and Elizabeth, widow of Venceslas II, was arranged.

[1] In German Olmütz.

[2] Many historians have accused King Albert of being the instigator of the murder of his nephew. The chronicler of the monastery of Klosterneuburg, whose evidence, as being that of an Austrian, may be somewhat partial, writes—

"Wenceslas . . . propter insolentiam contra optimates suos in Olomucz civitate Moraviae a suis occiditur . . . sicque contra vaticinium in gente illa ab antiquo vulgatum Bohemiae regnum exhaeredatur" (*Per Scriptores Rerum Austriacarum I. Chronicon Claustro-Neoburgense*). The last words refer to Libussa's prophecy (see Chapter II).

Rudolph's great parsimony, which contrasted with the splendour of the former Přemysl dynasty, rendered him very unpopular, and many of the nobles refused to do homage to him. While besieging Horazdovic, the castle of one of the opposing nobles, Rudolph suddenly fell ill and died (1307), having reigned less than a year over Bohemia.

One of the first consequences of the extinction of the line of Přemysl had been the ending of Bohemia's domination over Poland. The Bohemian governors of Cracow and Gnesen left the country as soon as they ascertained that, in consequence of the disturbed state of Bohemia, they had no hopes of obtaining aid from their country.

In consequence of the early death of Rudolph, the Bohemian nobles had for the second time in one year to decide on the succession to the throne of their country. Whilst one party wished to maintain the hereditary rights of the house of Habsburg, which had been recognized only a year before, a larger number of the nobles now desired to choose Henry of Carinthia as their sovereign, and declared the claims of the house of Austria invalid.[1]

The Diet which had assembled at Prague in 1307 was a very stormy one. The leader of the Austrian party, Tobias of Bechyn, being called on by his opponents not to favour the claims of foreigners and enemies to rule over his countrymen, answered, "If you wish at any price to obtain a native prince, go to Stadic,[2] among the peasants there you will perhaps find a relation of the extinct royal family; bring him here and seat him on the throne of your country."[3] Infuriated by this insult against the old dynasty, Ulrich, Lord of Lichtenburg, rushed across the council-room and stabbed Bechyn to death. Several other nobles were also murdered before the eyes of the widowed Queen Elizabeth, who was present at the council. These stormy discussions were ended by the election of Henry of Carinthia, who, accompanied by his wife, arrived in Prague in the same year (1307), where they were received with great enthusiasm by the people.

[1] The reason, or rather pretext, was that after Rudolph's election Albert had formally appointed his son King of Bohemia; thus throwing doubt on the validity of his previous election by the nobles of the country, and reaffirming the claim of the German kings to appoint the sovereign of Bohemia, a claim that the Bohemians always contested.

[2] See Chapter II.

[3] Palacký.

King Albert had, however, no intention of giving up peacefully the right he had so recently obtained for his descendants. He immediately invaded Moravia, and succeeded for a short time in securing that country for Frederick, now his eldest son. Albert then invaded Bohemia, but with little success, though he succeeded in obtaining possession of a few frontier towns, in which he left German garrisons on retiring from the country.

Albert's assassination by John Parricida (1308) saved Bohemia from great danger; for Albert's son Frederick, who was menaced by an insurrection in Austria, and who had not, as had his father, the support of the Empire,[1] soon came to terms with the Bohemian king. Frederick renounced all claims to Bohemia and Moravia on condition of receiving a large sum of money.

Henry's rule was now undisturbed by foreign enemies, but quiet did not long prevail in Bohemia. Henry's popularity had been founded more on his alliance with the old and national dynasty of the Přemyslides than on any personal merits, and he soon proved himself incapable of ruling the country in troublous times. Strife had arisen between the German townsmen—among whom the citizens of Prague and Kutna Hora appear to have obtained a predominant position—and the Bohemian nobility. The first cause of the quarrel seems to have been the claim of the German settlers to take part in the affairs of the country, in particular to attend the Diet of the kingdom. The Germans attempted to attain their purpose by forcibly seizing and imprisoning several Bohemian nobles, who held the highest offices of State. As a necessary consequence civil war broke out, and Henry was unable to maintain order between the contending parties. The King on the whole favoured the German townsmen; but his incapacity was now generally acknowledged, not only by the Bohemian nobility, but also by the majority of the clergy, and even the townsmen; and the necessity of choosing a new king was agreed to by all parties. The choice fell (1310) on John, Count of Luxemburg,[2] only son of the new German King Henry.

[1] On the death of Albert, Henry, Count of Luxemburg, was elected King of the Germans (1308).

[2] "A celebrated place, too, or name, that 'Luxembourg' of theirs, with its French marshals, grand Parisian edifices lending it new lustre;

An embassy was sent to the German king requesting his consent to their choice (John being then only fourteen years of age), and also to the marriage of their new sovereign with the Princess Elizabeth, second daughter of Venceslas II. After some negotiations they obtained the consent of Henry, who sent an army to Bohemia to accompany his son and the Bohemian envoys on their journey.

John obtained possession of the country after a slight resistance on the part of Henry of Carinthia, who, however, soon left Bohemia. In the following year (1311) John and Elizabeth were crowned at Prague as king and queen of Bohemia.

It was a great misfortune for the young king that his father, Henry VII of Germany (who had, as was customary with the German kings, undertaken an expedition to Rome to be crowned there as Emperor), died suddenly on his way back to Germany (1311). Many of the faults King John afterwards committed may be traced to the fact that from his earliest youth he had been under no control. We read that King John did not take his father's death much to heart,[1] and he attempted, though unsuccessfully, to secure the succession to the German throne. His extreme youth appears to have been the principal cause of his failure.

The German Electors having voted—some for Duke Frederick of Austria, others for Louis, Duke of Bavaria—one of the many contests for the crown took place which at that period caused so great a decline in the power and influence of Germany. In this struggle between the houses of Habsburg and Wittelsbach King John sided with the Bavarian prince, and his forces are said to have largely contributed to the decisive victory of Mühldorf (1322). We are also told that King John had the command of the whole army, which on that day defeated the Austrian duke.

King John's rule in Bohemia cannot, on the whole, be considered as successful. His heroic death has made him one of those kings whose names linger in the memory of the

what thinks the reader is the meaning of Luzzenburg, Luxembourg, Luxemburg? Merely Lützelburg wrongly pronounced, and that again is *nothing but Littleborough;* such is the luck of names!" (Carlyle's *History of Frederick the Great*).

[1] "Cito patris morte in oblivionem tradita" (*Pez Scriptores Rerum Austriacarum I. Anonymi Leobiensis Chronicon*).

Bohemian people; but he was not popular during his lifetime. Though coming to Bohemia at so early an age, he never appears to have shown any affection for the country, nor indeed to have thoroughly mastered its language—a matter on which then as now popularity in Bohemia perhaps depends more than on anything else. The Bohemian chroniclers complain that his short residences in Bohemia were solely for the purpose of obtaining financial supplies, and that having secured this object he then immediately left the country in search of new adventures, His dominant idea seems to have been that of chivalry. The English King Edward III called him *corona militiae*. His nature was that of a knight-errant or a Don Quixote; if that type, in many ways so touching, had not through being misunderstood long since acquired comic associations.[1] It will be sufficient to give a mere outline of the various warlike expeditions of King John, which extended from Lithuania and Hungary to Italy and France. As Palacký says: "It would be necessary to write the history of all Europe if we attempted to describe all the feuds into which King John entered with chivalrous bravery, but also with frivolity. It then became a proverb, that 'nothing can be done without the help of God and of the King of Bohemia.'"

King John's reign was from its beginning disturbed by internal dissensions, mainly caused by the enmity between his wife, Queen Elizabeth, and Elizabeth, widow of Venceslas II and Rudolph I. One of the great Bohemian nobles, Henry of Lipa, had obtained unlimited influence over the widowed Queen Elizabeth, and he aspired to play a part similar to that of Zavis of Falckenstein during the reign of Venceslas II. King John having caused Henry of Lipa to be imprisoned, a great insurrection of the Bohemian nobility broke out shortly afterwards, while the king was in Germany. Recalled by his consort, King John hastily returned, and after much desultory fighting the differences with the nobles were settled by a compromise under the mediation of the German King Louis (1318). Henry of Lipa regained his liberty, and was reinstated in the offices he had held at court. He seems, indeed, soon to have

[1] We are told on good authority that King John intended to establish the Round Table of King Arthur, and that he (1319) invited all the most celebrated knights in Europe to a tournament at Prague; nobody appears to have responded to the call.

become a friend and councillor of the inconstant king. Probably through the influence of Henry of Lipa, whose connection with the "Queen of Kralové Hradec"[1] made him a deadly enemy of the reigning queen, John shortly afterwards became estranged from his consort. It was no doubt also Henry of Lipa who suggested to the King that Queen Elizabeth intended to dethrone him and place their eldest son, then called Venceslas, but afterwards known as Charles, on the throne under her own guardianship. John separated the queen from her eldest child, whom he imprisoned; and as the citizens of Prague took the part of the queen, "a war such as Bohemia had never known before, a war between the king and the queen," now broke out.

Happily this contest did not last long; a temporary reconciliation between King John and his queen took place, and the young Prince Charles was restored to liberty. A few years later (1323) King John, on the occasion of one of his many visits to the French court, had his son, then only seven years old, brought to Paris to be educated at the court of Charles IV. On the occasion of his confirmation the young Bohemian prince received the name of Charles, after the French king.[2]

On the death of Waldemar, Margrave of Brandenburg, King John became involved in the war which broke out between the claimants to his succession. John claimed Upper Lusatia as a fief of the Bohemian crown, and succeeded in conquering part of that country, including Bautzen, the capital of the district.

At the beginning of the year 1327 King John returned to Bohemia. Since the battle of Mühldorf (1322), which had for a while put a stop to the war in Germany, he had spent most of his time at Luxemburg or at the French court. Restless as ever, he undertook an expedition to Poland a few months later, wishing to re-establish the former sovereignty of the Bohemian kings over that country. Marching through Silesia on his way to Poland he forced the small princes of that country to renew their former allegiance to the Bohemian crown, which had been in

[1] The widow of Venceslas II was known under that name, as she generally lived at Kralové Hradec (in German Königgrätz), the usual residence of the widows of the kings of Bohemia.

[2] King John's sister Mary was married to the French King Charles IV.

abeyance since the death of Venceslas II. King John, however, abandoned his plan of reconquering Poland, though his army had already arrived before Cracow, as he received news that the King of Hungary intended joining his forces to those of Poland should that country be attacked.

Two years later (1329) we find King John again in the north, this time on a so-called crusade against the heathen Lithuanians. The Teutonic knights often required aid in their struggle against the pagans in Northern Europe, and the German princes frequently undertook warlike expeditions to Lithuania and the neighbouring districts as a substitute for the former crusades to the Holy Land, which many previous failures had rendered distasteful. After a great deal of desultory and indecisive fighting King John returned to Bohemia through Silesia, and succeeded in obtaining by treaty that part of Upper Lusatia which, after the death of Waldemar of Brandenburg, had remained in the hands of one of the Silesian princes.

King John had spent the earlier part of the year 1329 in Lithuania; the latter part of the following year found the errant king in Italy. Enmity between King John and his predecessor on the Bohemian throne, Henry of Carinthia and the Tyrol, had long ceased; and John now wished to arrange a marriage between his second son, John Henry, and Margaret,[1] daughter of Duke Henry, and, as he had no male descendants, heir to all his lands.

John visited Duke Henry (1330) at Innsbruck, where the negotiations for the marriage were carried on, and here received a deputation from the town of Brescia in Lombardy, who requested his aid against Mastino della Scala, Lord of Verona, who was then besieging their city. The ever-adventurous king promised his protection, and the citizens of Brescia recognized him as their over-lord. Mastino della Scala, not wishing to encounter the powerful Bohemian king, abandoned the siege of Brescia, and King John made his triumphant entry into that town on the last day of the year 1330. The Bohemian domination in Italy, destined to be of very short duration, at first extended with almost

[1] Known in German history as Margaretha Maultasche. "Mouth-poke, Pocket-mouth, Heiress of the Tyrol—with a terrible mouth to her face and none of the gentlest hearts in her body" (Carlyle, *History of Frederick the Great*).

incredible rapidity. Within the first three months of the year 1331 the towns of Bergamo, Crema, Parma, Modena, Novara, Vercelli, and many others, of their own free will accepted King John as their over-lord. Even the powerful Azzo de' Visconti, Lord of Milan, acknowledged the supremacy of the King of Bohemia. King John remained in Italy till June (1331), when dangers nearer home obliged him to recross the Alps; he, however, left his son Charles as his representative in Italy. Charles, though only seventeen years of age, for a time successfully defended himself against the Italians, who had soon become tired of the supremacy of the Bohemian princes. Mastino della Scala of Verona, King Robert of Naples, the lords of Mantua and Ferrara, and Azzo de' Visconti of Milan, who had already changed sides, concluded an alliance against Prince Charles. Charles, who fixed his residence at Parma, one of the few Italian towns that remained faithful to the Bohemian princes, defeated the confederates in a very sanguinary engagement that took place at San Felice, near Parma (1332). This victory was not decisive, and Charles appealed to his father for aid. King John recrossed the Alps, but with very insufficient forces; the Bohemian dominion in Italy collapsed as quickly as it had arisen, and both King John and his son left the country before the end of the year 1333.

King John's rapid departure from Italy in 1331 had been caused by troubles north of the Alps, which were the consequences of his Italian conquests. The German king considered that King John had encroached on the rights of the Empire by these conquests; John's old enemy King Casimir of Poland, the dukes of Austria, Charles Robert, King of Hungary, and his uncle Robert, King of Naples, all joined him in opposing the ambitious King of Bohemia. King John succeeded in pacifying the King of Germany by the promise that all lands conquered by him in Italy should become the joint property of the two sovereigns. He then hurried to Poland, and by besieging his town of Posen forced King Casimir to conclude a truce. King John then proceeded to Paris with his usual rapidity, leaving Henry the younger of Lipa to meet the attack of the Austrian dukes, who, however, defeated him. King John's second disappearance from Italy has already been mentioned.

"Whilst King John was thus wandering through distant

lands the decline of Bohemia had, in consequence of the king's irrational government, reached its lowest point."[1] The king seems himself to have felt the impossibility of governing alone a country from which, in consequence of his adventurous life, he was almost always absent.

Shortly after leaving Italy King John proceeded to Luxemburg, where he had become involved in a feud with John, Duke of Brabant; but he left his son Charles at Prague, with full power to govern Bohemia and Moravia. Always jealous of his son, John had formally stipulated that Charles should only bear the title of Margrave of Moravia.

"Margrave Charles was unlike his father in many respects; he inherited neither his qualities nor his faults. John, chivalrously brave and somewhat vain, was mostly guided by his temperament, which, though vivacious and inconstant, was generally intent on noble purposes. He loved warfare above all things, both in good earnest and in sport; he sought out wars and tournaments; cared more for glory than for gain; succeeded in conquering more than he was able to retain. He attempted great deeds, but his want of thrift often drove him to petty acts. His learned and serious son, on the other hand, showed everywhere the most entire self-possession, and in all matters of business acted according to a fixed plan and with calculation; he also fought bravely, but he preferred to obtain his purpose by peaceful negotiation. Orderly in financial matters, he showed exceptional talent in the art of government, though his military capacities were not great; he obtained far more by the arts of diplomacy than he ever could have done by the force of arms. John hardly disguised the fact that he had little sympathy for the land and people of Bohemia; love for them seems, on the other hand, to have been the one passion of Charles."[2]

In a comparatively short time Charles seems to have restored order in the disturbed country, and to have at least partially improved its financial situation; though his task was rendered more difficult by his father's constant demand for money. About this time both Charles and his father became connected by marriage with the royal family of France, Charles marrying the French Princess Blanche of Valois, and King John[3] the Princess Beatrice of Bourbon.

[1] Tomek. [2] Palacký.

[3] King John's first wife, Elizabeth, had died in 1330.

The result of these family connections was an alliance between Bohemia and France, that lasted up to the end of the reign of King John.

The death of Duke Henry of Carinthia and the Tyrol (1335) was followed by new strife in Germany, and the ever-warlike King John now returned to Bohemia. The German King Louis, John's former ally, joined the Austrian dukes in an attempt to deprive King John's son, John Henry, of the Tyrol and Carinthia, to which lands he had become entitled as husband of Margaret "Mouth-poke." To be secure in the north and east King John, on the advice of his son Charles, came to a peaceful understanding with the kings of Poland and Hungary. He renounced all claims on the crown of Poland, but, on the other hand, obtained the recognition of his rights over Silesia from the two kings.

Unfortunately, an estrangement took place about this time between John and his eldest son. Again fearing to find a rival to the crown in Charles, whose popularity in Bohemia was indeed far greater than his father's, King John suddenly deprived him of all share in the government of Bohemia and Moravia, and even of the revenues he drew from these lands.

Charles acted with great nobility in the difficult position in which he found himself. Contrary to what had so often happened in similar cases, he declined to stir up civil strife in a country which was already engaged in foreign war. He left Bohemia for a time, and joined his brother John Henry in the defence of the Tyrol, which Louis, King of the Germans, had already attacked. John in the meantime entered Austria with a Bohemian army, and succeeded in separating the Austrian dukes from their ally, the King of the Germans; he concluded a treaty with them, by which Carinthia was made over to the Austrian princes, while the Tyrol fell to the share of John Henry (1336).

King John soon after (1336) undertook a second crusade to Lithuania, during which he, through illness, lost the sight of one eye—a loss that was soon followed by complete blindness. We are told that the people did not pity him, but said that his misfortune was God's punishment for the hardness with which he—after superseding his son Charles—had extorted money from the people of Bohemia. Charles had accompanied his father on this Lithuanian campaign;

but he returned to the Tyrol directly afterwards, and it was only somewhat later (1338) that a reconciliation took place. King John now again made over the government of Bohemia to Charles, and the latter was afterwards (1341), with the full approval of his father, declared heir to the throne by the nobles of Bohemia.

The same year saw the beginning of new troubles in Germany. Margaret "Mouth-poke" of the Tyrol, inflamed by a violent passion for King Louis's handsome son, Louis of Brandenburg, and with an equally violent hatred for her husband,[1] drove the latter out of the country, and married Margrave Louis. The distance of Bohemia from the Tyrol rendered it difficult for Charles to come to the aid of his brother; but both he and King John henceforth became bitter enemies of King Louis, who had abetted his son in his attempt to secure the Tyrol.

King John, therefore, probably by the advice of his son, entered into negotiations with Pope Clement VI, who had always opposed King Louis, and was now endeavouring to induce the German Electors to choose another king. Charles joined his father at Luxemburg (1344), and thence they both repaired to the papal court at Avignon. There is no doubt that the deposition of King Louis and the election of a new king were then discussed, though the result of these negotiations only became evident two years later.

In the meantime, the Pope's friendship had a very important result for the internal development of Bohemia. On Charles's request the Pope raised the Bishop of Prague —then Ernest of Pardubic—to the rank of archbishop, and declared the new archbishopric independent of the German archbishops of Maintz.[2] It was also settled that the kings of Bohemia should in future be crowned by the new Archbishop of Prague. We are also told that through the Pope's influence a more complete reconciliation between King John and his son took place; and it is noticeable that during the short space of life that still remained to the king, we read of no further discord between the two.

[1] The old chroniclers give amusing but not very edifying details about this affair.

[2] It is curious to read that Charles was obliged to declare on his oath that the language of Bohemia was a Slavonic one, entirely different from the German language; that the distance from Prague to Maintz was of about twelve day-journeys; and that the road lay through other dioceses.

On leaving Avignon, King John and his son first went to Prague to be present at the installation of the new archbishop. They then started for a new crusade against the heathen Lithuanians, which they probably undertook at the request of the Pope.

Whilst King John was occupied in the far north, the German King Louis induced the kings of Hungary and Poland, the dukes of Austria and several of the Silesian princes, to join him in an alliance against Bohemia. With almost incredible rapidity King John marched into Poland, defeated the Poles and Hungarians, and besieged Cracow.[1] King Casimir demanded a truce, which through the mediation of the Pope soon became a treaty of peace, in which Casimir's allies, with the exception of the King of the Germans, were included.

Against the latter the Bohemian princes, aided by the Pope, now struck the heaviest blow possible. At the Pope's bidding five German Electors, among whom was King John, assembled at Rhense (1346), and elected King John's son, Margrave Charles, as German king. This rendered further war in Germany inevitable; but the attention of the kings of Bohemia and Germany was now attracted by events further west.

War had for some time been carried on between King Edward III of England and Philip of Valois, King of France, with whom John of Bohemia was on the same terms of friendship as with his predecessor. On the day following Charles's election as German king (July 12, 1346), King Edward and his son the Black Prince landed on the French coast, and marching rapidly through Normandy, advanced nearly up to the gates of Paris.

King John with his usual impetuosity immediately decided to come to the aid of the King of France. Apart from his connection with the royal family, he had always felt strong sympathy for France, and specially for Paris; he was even reported to have said that he cared to live there only, as it was the most chivalrous city in the world.

Not stopping to assemble an army—though he would

[1] During the siege of Cracow, King Casimir of Poland is said to have provoked the King of Bohemia to single combat, as a means of ending the war. King John answered that he was quite willing to accept the challenge on condition of Casimir's consenting to have both his eyes put out, thus rendering their chances equal.

probably have rendered the French far greater service had he done so—he left Luxemburg (where he had gone immediately after the election of Rhense) for Paris, accompanied by his son Charles and only five hundred horsemen, mostly Bohemian nobles and knights. When they arrived in Paris, the enemy's camp-fires and the reflection of many burning villages in the sky could be seen from the towers of Notre-Dame.

King Edward marched northward shortly afterwards to join the Flemish forces that were gathering at Gravelines,[1] and the Bohemians, joining the French army, took part in King Philip's march into Picardy. When the English army essayed the passage of the Somme at the bridge of St. Rémy, near Abbeville, it was principally the Bohemian troops who prevented the attempt.[2] As is known to all readers of English history, King Edward's army crossed the Somme shortly afterwards by surprising the ford of Blanche-Taque.

The English army reached the village of Crécy on August 25, but the French and their allies only arrived there on the following day. Henry Mönch of Basel, a knight serving under the King of Bohemia, was sent forward with one or two followers to reconnoitre the position of the English army, which the French still believed to be in full retreat. He reported that this was entirely untrue, and that the English army was, on the contrary, preparing for battle. Henry Mönch of Basel, and with him his warlike king, therefore strongly advised that the attack should be deferred to the following day, as the troops were fatigued by a long march. As is known, this advice was over-ruled, and the battle immediately began. The Bohemians remembered that it was the day of St. Rufus (August 26), the anniversary of the defeat and death of Přemysl Ottokar II.

[1] The old Bohemian chronicler Dubravius, with uncritical but rather touching patriotism, accounts for the change of King Edward's plans by the arrival of the horsemen of the King of Bohemia: "Edoardus Angliae rex cognito Boiemororum et Germanorum adventu ab absidione Lutaetiae Parisiorum discedit" (Dubravius, *Historia Bohemiae*, lib. xxi). Besides the Bohemians, a few German knights from Luxemburg were under King John's command.

[2] "Vicesima secunda die Augusti fuit rex Angliae ad Pontem Remi in Ponteu versus Abbeville et volebant transire Anglici per pontem sed gentes regis Boemiae et ejus filii et D. Johannes de Bryaumont restiterunt et ibi conflictus magnus unde ex utraque parte plures ceciderunt" (Palacký, quoting from a contemporary manuscript of Limuisis, abbot of St. Martin at Tournay).

The kings of Bohemia and Germany, with their small band, remained with the rear of the army at the beginning of the battle, not probably very confident in the result of an engagement which had been brought on against their advice. When the defeat of the French seemed certain, some of the Bohemian nobles informed King John of the unfavourable turn the battle was taking, and advised him to follow the example of the French, who were already retreating. King John then spoke the memorable words: "So will it God, it shall not be that a king of Bohemia flies from the battle-field."[1]

King John then ordered two of his bravest knights, Henry Mönch of Basel and Henry of Klingenberg, to attach their horses to his, and to guide him to where the Black Prince stood. He then gave the watchword "Praha" (Prague), and the knights and nobles, following close behind their king, charged in the direction of the English army Passing rapidly through the flying Frenchmen they penetrated, wedged close together, into the thickest of the English ranks, and had for a moment nearly reached the spot where the Black Prince stood. Soon beaten back by overwhelming numbers, King John fell from his horse mortally wounded, and fifty of the chief nobles soon lay dead round their king. Hardly any of the Bohemians survived, and the flower of the Bohemian nobility perished on the battle-field of Crécy.

The charge of the blind King of Bohemia, useless and even faulty, from a military point of view, as the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava, is equally immortal: even after more than five hundred years a Bohemian cannot write of this "gallant deed of arms" without feeling his blood stirred.

Late in the evening King John was found, still alive, on the battle-field, and King Edward caused him to be carried to his own tent, where he died in the course of the night.

On hearing of his death, King Edward, we are told, was unable to refrain from tears, and he exclaimed: "The

[1] Palacký says that these last words of their blind king remained for ever in the memory of the Bohemians, and that they became a proverb in the country. Palacký also notes that no king of Bohemia ever fled from the battle-field, and that neither Přemysl Ottokar II nor Louis I survived their defeat.

crown of chivalry has fallen to-day; never was any one equal to this King of Bohemia."[1] King Edward and the Black Prince were present when the last religious rites were performed over the dead king of Bohemia, and they caused his corpse to be delivered for burial to his son Charles. King Charles had himself fought heroically by the side of his father; and after he had been severely wounded, the few remaining Bohemian knights, "fearful of losing both their kings,"[2] forced him to leave the battle-field.

CHAPTER V

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES IV TO THE CORONATION OF KING SIGISMUND (1346–1420)

THE accession of Charles IV to the throne of Bohemia marks the beginning of a new period in the history of the country. His reign differed as widely from that of his father as did the personal character of the two princes. Whereas King John was vacillating and uncertain in his policy, his son Charles appears to have set before him clearly the nature of the problems with which he was to deal. While John was frequently absent from his country, Charles was ever ready and anxious to pursue its true interests. In the reign of the father Bohemia's influence in European affairs remained stationary, if it did not actually decline. But Charles not only raised it to a position it had never before attained, but sought out every means of improving its internal condition. It is true that the general political condition of Europe was more favourable to Charles's policy than it had been to his father's. The German princes had never allowed Bohemia fair play; this impediment to the progress of Bohemia ceased now that Charles, King of Bohemia, himself became German Emperor.

Professor Freeman has given it as his opinion that while Charles made a good King of Bohemia, he "sadly lowered" the empire both in Germany and in Italy. It would not be easy to prove in what way Charles "sadly lowered" the empire. It is at any rate certain that he was one of the best kings and truest patriots of Bohemia.

As mentioned in the last chapter, Charles left the battle-field of Crécy accompanied only by a few knights. He at

[1] Beneš de Weitmil. [2] Beneš de Weitmil.

first retired to the monastery of Ourschamp near Nyon to nurse the wounds he had received. Charles then returned to Bohemia, and was preparing an invasion of Bavaria when the sudden death of King Louis (1347) freed him from his most dangerous enemy.

The party in Germany opposed to Charles did not, however, despair of raising up another rival king. Although King Edward III of England had already recognized the right of King Charles to the German throne, it was on him that the choice of the enemies of Charles first fell, as his victory at Crécy had made his name prominent throughout Europe.

King Charles sent William, Margrave of Juliers (Jülich), as envoy to the King of England, with the mission of dissuading him from accepting the German crown. This mission proved successful, and Edward (1348) refused the crown that was offered to him, and even concluded a treaty of alliance with King Charles.

Unable to find any prince who was willing to oppose Charles as King of the Germans, his enemies now chose Count Günther of Schwarzburg as king, a noble who was almost without territorial possessions, but who had enriched himself as a soldier of fortune. Count Günther's death in the following year (1343) for a time put an end to civil war in Germany, and we are told that King Charles, as a proof that he bore him no malice, was himself present at the funeral of the Count of Schwarzburg. The troubles caused about this time by the appearance of the "False Valdemar" in Bradenburg, and the part King Charles took in them, belong to German rather than to Bohemian history, and it will be of more interest to notice the various measures by which Charles strove to improve the social and political condition of Bohemia.

During the past reigns, particularly that of King John, the great nobles had profited by the constant financial difficulties of their sovereigns for the purpose of acquiring almost all the Crown lands which they held as securities for various—mostly very small—loans which they had made to their kings. Charles had already, as regent during his father's lifetime, succeeded in redeeming a great number of the pledged lands and castles, and during his reign he entirely carried out his design of liberating the Bohemian crown from a position of humiliating dependency. One of

the first measures of Charles consisted in the re-establishment of a regular administration of the law. During the reign of King John the former law-courts had, in consequence of the anarchical state of the country, almost entirely ceased to exist. Charles now divided the whole country into thirteen districts for the administration of justice, and he established a court of justice in the central town of each of these districts.

He also created, or perhaps re-established, a High Court of Law at Prague. In all these courts of law the Bohemian language was to be exclusively used. What has more than anything else endeared the memory of Charles to the Bohemian people is the favour he always showed to the national language, to which the Bohemians have at all times been devotedly attached. During the period from the reign of Přemysl Ottokar I to that of King John (1192–1346), the Bohemian language was several times near sharing the fate of the Slav dialects of Northern Germany. The greater development of the Bohemian language, which at that time already possessed a literature of its own, and the influence of the Bohemian nobles, who from hostility to the German settlers soon again began to use their native tongue, preserved it from that fate. It was by the influence of Charles alone that Bohemian again became the language of the court, and he himself—though he used the Latin language for his writings[1]—soon spoke the language of his country fluently. It is said that on his first return from France (where he was educated), his earliest thought was to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Bohemian tongue. One of the consequences of Charles's predilection for the Bohemian language was that, though maintaining the privileges conferred by his predecessors on the German colonists, he yet secured equality for the Bohemian language in the towns that were mainly inhabited by Germans. Charles decreed that at the assemblies of the town magistrates the speakers should, according to their own choice, use either the Bohemian or the German language, that no one speaking German only should be

[1] The very interesting Latin autobiography of Charles IV, *Commentarius de Vita Caroli Bohemiae Regis ab ipso Carolo conscriptus*, has been preserved, and is printed in *Freherus Rerum Bohemiarum Antiqui Scriptores*. It unfortunately relates only to a small part of the patriot king's life.

appointed as judge, and that all German parents should be called on to have their children taught the Bohemian language.

It seems that Charles not only favoured the national language, but that he, with the political insight which was his characteristic, also realized the connection of the language and people of Bohemia with the other Slav races, an idea which is generally known under the foolish and incorrect denomination of Panslavism, and is usually supposed to be of modern origin. Charles showed his knowledge of the connection of the Slav races by the foundation of a Benedictine monastery in Prague, which was to revive the traditions of the former monastery of St. Prokop on the Sazava.[1] For the monks of this convent Charles obtained the Pope's permission to use the Slavonic tongue for all ecclesiastical functions, and to make use of the Cyrillic alphabet.[2] This scheme seems, next to the foundation of the University of Prague, to have been one of King Charles's favourite plans, and in spite of the many difficulties at the beginning of his reign he was able, in the year 1347, to assemble numerous monks from Croatia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia in the new monastery.

The great interest which Charles—who was less inclined than any man to pursue merely imaginative aims—showed for this foundation has attracted the attention of Bohemian historians. Palacký believes that the plan of uniting the Eastern with the Western Church, which then, as at so many other periods of history, was being discussed, may have been one of King Charles's motives, apart from his

[1] See Chapter III.

[2] The foundation of this convent is of some importance with regard to the controversy as to the origin of the Hussite movement. The almost general opinion of Russian authorities is in favour of considering that movement as one caused by the desire of the Bohemians to return to the Eastern Church, from which their country had first received the Christian faith. In his letter to Pope Clement VI, in which he requests the Pope's consent to the establishment of the Slavonic ritual in the new monastery, Charles says that "there are many dissidents and unbelieving people who, when the gospel is explained and preached to them in Latin, will not understand, and that they might (thus) perhaps be directed to the Christian faith" (Professor Kalousek, in the *Casopis Musea Ceskeho* (Journal of the Bohemian Museum) for 1882). Professor Kalousek thinks that these words—though their meaning seems very clear—contain a "pia fraus" on the part of King Charles.

wish to obtain an alliance with the then powerful Servian princes against the ever-menacing Turkish Empire.[1]

In 1348 Charles assembled the Estates of Bohemia at Prague, and in his capacity as King of the Germans confirmed all the privileges which former kings had conferred on the country, but which, specially since the end of the reign of Přemysl Ottokar II, had been in abeyance. The right of the Estates to choose their king was again affirmed, but with the qualification that it should only come into force in the case of the extinction of the royal family, which meanwhile was to succeed to the throne according to the rule of primogeniture. By further enactment Charles defined the position of Moravia—then governed by the king's brother, John Henry—with reference to Bohemia, and also decreed that Silesia and Upper Lusatia should henceforth form parts of the lands of the Bohemian crown.

At this Diet King Charles also announced his intention of founding a university at Prague. It is characteristic of his interest in this, his favourite creation, that he had, shortly after the battle of Crécy—even before his return to Bohemia—written to the Pope asking his consent to the foundation of the new university, a consent that was readily granted. A not very well authenticated report tells us that Charles had as a youth studied at the University of Paris, but it is more probable that during his first stay in Italy he had acquired a love of learning, at that time very unusual among the princes and nobles of Northern Europe. The king himself superintended the organization of the university, which was destined soon to acquire a world-wide reputation as the centre of the Hussite movement. In his invitation to the scholars of all countries to frequent the new university, Charles assured to them all the privileges and the immunities which the students of Paris and Bologna enjoyed. Charles appointed the Archbishop of Prague, Ernest of Pardubic, as first chancellor of his new university, and divided it (according to the system still prevalent in Germany) into four "faculties," the theological,

[1] Palacký quotes a letter which Charles wrote to Stephan Dusan, then ruler of Servia, in which he alludes to their common nationality; "De Vobis . . . quem Nobis regiae dignitatis honor fraternali dilectione parificat et ejusdem nobilis Slavici idiomatis participatio facit esse communem cum ejusdem generosae linguae sublimitas nos felicibus, auctore domino, et gratis auspiciis parturiverit."

the juridical, the medical, and the philosophical one. The university was also divided—according to the nationality of the students—into "nations," of which the Bohemian "nation" also included the students from Moravia, Hungary, and the southern Slav lands. The Bavarian "nation," besides the inhabitants of that country, also comprised the Austrians, Swabians, Franconians, and inhabitants of the Rhine-lands, whilst the Polish "nation" was composed—besides the Poles—of Silesians, Russians, and Lithuanians. The fourth, the Saxon "nation," contained, besides the Saxon students, also those from Meissen and Thuringia, as well as those from Denmark and Sweden.

It was undoubtedly in connection with this foundation[1] that King Charles decided on enlarging the town of Prague by building the "new town" (Nové Město) between the Vyšehrad hill and the banks of the Vltava.[2]

Among the many efforts of King Charles to increase the prosperity of Bohemia, we must not omit the protection he afforded to the commerce of the country. "Every one of the treaties of peace and conventions he made, as a rule, contained stipulations in favour of the Bohemian merchants."[3] Some of the dispositions he made appear strange from the point of view of modern national economy, but were no doubt adapted to the times. Among other similar regulations, Charles decreed that all foreign merchants who crossed the Bohemian frontier should be compelled to come to Prague, and there for a time exhibit their goods for sale. Foreign merchants were further forbidden to transact any business, especially banking business, among themselves, but were only to do so through the medium of a Bohemian merchant.

Two institutions created by King Charles, which still bear his name, date from about this time. In the year 1348 Charles began to build a large fortified castle in a very strong, indeed at that time impregnable, situation on the summit of a steep rock to the west of, and not far from, the city of Prague. This castle, to which Charles gave the name of Karlstein, was intended to be a safe depository for the Crown jewels and treasures of the Bohemian kings, as well as the State archives of the country. It could also

[1] The number of students during the lifetime of King Charles already amounted to between five and seven thousand.

[2] In German Moldan.

[3] Palacký.

serve as a stronghold to which the members of the royal family could retire in time of danger. Charles appointed two burgraves, one chosen from among the nobles and the other from the knights, as governors of the Karlstein, and these burgraves—who were considered not only as Court but also as State officials—afterwards ranked among the most important dignities of Bohemia.

Another very different foundation has also retained the name of Charles; it is the now well-known watering-place of Karlsbad. The legend tells us that when the king was pursuing a stag he was surprised to hear one of his hounds suddenly howl, and that he then noticed that the animal had been badly scalded while crossing a stream. He is said to have caused the water of this stream to be medically examined, and its salutary effects thus became known. It seems probable that the existence of these hot springs was locally known before the time of King Charles, but it was undoubtedly due to him that their fame spread. Charles built himself a castle near these springs which he called Karlsbad, a name that soon extended to the few dwellings then standing near the spot.

While endeavouring to secure order and prosperity to Bohemia, Charles also successfully essayed to extend the frontiers of the country. German authors have indeed, not without truth, often accused him of preferring Bohemia to their own land. Early in his reign the king acquired by purchase twenty towns and castles in the Upper Palatine, thus—for the time—extending the Bohemian frontier nearly to the gates of Nuremberg. Towards the end of the year 1354 Charles undertook the expedition to Rome which had become almost obligatory for the German kings. He first proceeded to Milan, where he was crowned with the iron crown of the Lombard kings, and then continued his journey to Rome, where his coronation as Emperor took place, two cardinals sent from Avignon by Innocent VI acting as the Pope's substitutes. On his return north the new Emperor, while at Pisa, was attacked by one of the factions then disputing for the domination of the town,[1] and only saved by the bravery of his body-guard. After having

[1] Beneš de Weitmil (*Chronicon*, lib. iv) calls them "fraude diabolica pleni et in omni malitia experti." Weitmil's account of the events at Pisa agrees with the Italian account contained in the chronicle of the Villani.

defeated and punished the aggressors, Charles left Italy, and arrived at Prague on August 15 (1355).

During the king's absence from Bohemia order had been much disturbed by bands of robbers, who rendered the high-roads unsafe. Charles took immediate steps to restore security to his country, and—shortly after his return from Italy—he besieged Žampach, a castle situated on the summit of a steep hill belonging to John of Smoyno, the leader of the most numerous of these bands of robbers. John of Smoyno, who from his habit of always appearing in full armour was known as "Pancíř" (the man in armour), had formerly served in the king's army, and had been knighted by him for his bravery, and presented with a golden chain. Žampach was taken after a siege of some duration, the castle destroyed, and the "Pancíř" hanged by order of the king. Charles is said to have himself thrown the rope round his neck, telling him "that it was not only golden chains that he had in his gift." Several other strongholds of robbers in the same district (that of Králové Hradec), which had been the most disturbed part of the country, were subsequently destroyed when the king returned to Prague to assemble the Estates at a Diet. We are specially told that the Estates, not only of Bohemia, but also those of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, were convoked.

Charles proposed to the Estates the adoption of a code of laws founded on those of Rome, but this proposal, as being in many ways contrary to the old legal traditions of Bohemia, was very unfavourably received. Charles, with his usual prudence, very soon gave up these intended changes. He succeeded, however, in obtaining the consent of the Estates to several other legal dispositions, particularly to those which guaranteed to the peasants the right of appealing to the royal law-courts against their territorial lords. The necessity of this enactment proves that attempts had already been made to introduce into Bohemia the system of servitude which had long prevailed in Germany, though serfs were entirely unknown to the original—Slavonic—constitution of Bohemia.

In the same year (1355) Charles, after the termination of the Diet of Prague, proceeded to Nuremberg, where an assembly of the Electors and princes of Germany took place. The deliberations which took place here, and which were continued the following year at the Diet of Metz

(1356), resulted in the publication of the celebrated Golden Bull, in which the Emperor Charles attempted to codify the regulations concerning the election of the kings of Germany. The Golden Bull belongs rather to German than to Bohemian history, but it may be noted that it contains a reaffirmation of all the privileges formerly granted to the lands of the Bohemian, and that it contained a special paragraph which decreed that the sons of the Electors and other German princes were to learn the Bohemian language, as it was a language respected in the Empire and useful to them.[1]

The Golden Bull was not favourably received by the Holy See, as its regulations concerning the election of the German kings tacitly ignored certain undefined claims to influence these elections which the Popes had several times raised. The friendship between Emperor and Pope decreased for a time, and the latter even favoured the plan of certain German princes to depose the Emperor Charles.

The Emperor, though he has always by German historians been accused of undue subserviency to the Holy See, showed great firmness on this occasion. At an Imperial Diet, which assembled at Maintz in 1357, the Emperor very strongly opposed the demand of the papal legate who was present, that a tithe should be collected from the German clergy for the benefit of the papal court. Charles called on the bishops to pay greater attention to the morals and conduct of their clergy, and even threatened to seize the ecclesiastical revenues should they not be more worthily employed. Though the momentary estrangement between Pope and Emperor may have been one of the motives of the energetic language which Charles used, there is no doubt that the Emperor, a man of earnest and unaffected piety, seriously desired to reform the habits and morals of the clergy.

At no time, indeed, was such a reformation more necessary. Warfare, tournaments, hunting, and gambling were widely spread among the clergy, and immorality was almost universal, the law of celibacy having fallen into complete neglect.[2] This degraded condition of the clergy produced

[1] Tomek.

[2] Baron Helfert, *Hus und Hieronymus*, p. 18, says that the immorality of the clergy was then so great that some parishes even considered it desirable that their priests should live in concubinage, "hoc modo proprias uxores tutiores ab insidiis existimantes." This cannot be considered as a party statement, as Baron Helfert's book is written from a strongly Catholic point of view.

an agitation during Charles's reign which was to develop under that of his son, into the Hussite movement, when Bohemia for a time attracted the attention of all Europe.

The movement in Bohemia in favour of Church reform was originally free from all hostility to the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. The earliest leaders were among "the truest and most obedient sons of the Church."[1] As the two earliest of these reformers, Conrad Waldhauser and Milič of Kroměříže,[2] died before the Emperor Charles, it will be as well to mention them here. Conrad Waldhauser, a German by birth, was summoned to Prague by the Emperor Charles in consequence of the great reputation as a preacher which he had acquired in Austria, his original home. In his sermons at Prague he at first inveighed against the immorality and extravagance of the citizens, and the result of his preaching was most extraordinary. The women of Prague left off wearing jewels and costly dresses, and many of the greatest sinners in the town did public penance. Conrad then began attacking the corruption of the clergy, particularly of the mendicant friars. He was denounced both by the Dominican and Augustine monks, but the Emperor continued his protection to him, as is proved by the fact that he appointed him to the most important parish in Prague. Waldhauser therefore remained unmolested by the priests up to his death in the year 1369.

Milič of Kroměříže, who is also generally considered one of the precursors of Hus, was a canon of the cathedral of Prague, and for some time held the office of vice-chancellor at the court of Prague. Most Bohemian historians agree in attributing the Emperor's attitude at the Diet of Maintz largely to the influence of Milič. In 1363 he suddenly renounced all his dignities, intending in future to live in complete poverty, and for the one purpose of preaching the gospel. As Milič—a Moravian by birth—spoke the language of the country, his preaching attracted more attention, and had a wider influence on the people, than that of Waldhauser.

On the other hand, he seems to have provoked greater enmity on the part of the monks, whose views he very openly exposed. They were therefore only too glad when

[1] Baron Helfert, *Hus und Hieronymus*, p. 18.
[2] In German Kremsier.

Milič fell into what were considered errors of dogma. The great corruption of the times appears to have inspired him with the idea that the end of the world was near, and he gave publicity to his views in a pamphlet entitled *Libellus de Antichristo*. Milič started to Rome to defend himself, and was imprisoned there during the absence of Pope Urban. After the Pope's arrival in Rome an interview between him and Milič took place, and the Pontiff, evidently recognizing the purity of his intentions, ordered him to be set at liberty. It has, however, been noted that Milič henceforth laid less stress on his peculiar views concerning the Antichrist, though he never formally withdrew them; his zeal for the reform of the Church became even greater than before.

Milič returned to Prague immediately after his liberation, and was received with great rejoicing by the people, if not by the mendicant friars, who had considered his condemnation to death as certain.[1] Milič now resumed his preaching, and though advanced in years acquired the knowledge of the German language so as to be able to preach to the German inhabitants of Prague also. The old enmity of the mendicant friars against the saintly priest never seems to have grown less, and they—despairing of harming him in Bohemia, where the protection of Charles ensured his safety—again denounced him to the Papal See. Milič again appealed to the Pope, and repaired to the papal court at Avignon, where he died (1374), before his case had been judged by the ecclesiastical tribunal. Besides Conrad Waldhauser and Milič of Kroměříže, Matthew of Janow, a disciple of Milič, and Thomas of Štitný[2] are also generally counted among the precursors of Hus.

It is probable that these dissensions, the first beginning of a movement that was to become of world-wide importance, did not attract much attention at the time, and were considered of hardly greater importance than the controversies between the different religious orders, which were so

[1] "Cum vero Pragam"—Milič and his companion—"venissent quasi nova lux omnibus Christi fidelibus orta fuisset, ita gaudebant quia per viros religiosos mendicantes saepe in eorum praedicationibus audiebant ubi dicebatur: Carissimi ecce jam Milicius cremabitur" (from the life of Milič contained in the learned Jesuit Balbinus's *Miscellanea Historica Regni Bohemiae*, vol. iv).

[2] For Thomas of Štitný see my *History of Bohemian Literature*, pp. 63–79 (2nd ed.).

frequent at that time. The estrangement between Charles and the Papal See was not of long duration, but the Emperor always maintained his opinion as to the necessity of Church reform.

Shortly after his reconciliation with the Pope, the Emperor, who had for some time been at war with Duke Rudolph IV of Austria and Louis, King of Hungary, concluded a treaty (1364) with the former prince by which the succession to the Bohemian crown was—in the case of the extinction of the reigning family—assured to the house of Austria, whilst the Austrian duke assured the succession to his lands to the Bohemian kings should the dynasty of Habsburg become extinct. As a similar treaty had already been concluded between the King of Hungary and the Duke of Austria, Hungary was included in this agreement which may be considered as the origin of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, such as it exists at the present day.

In the following year (1365) Charles proceeded on a journey to Avignon to visit Pope Urban V. The purpose of this visit is unknown, but it is probable that the Emperor again wished to attract the Pope's attention to the question of Church reform, and to what seemed to the Emperor directly connected with this question, the transfer of the papal court from Avignon to Rome. This appears for a long time to have been a change on which the Emperor had set his whole heart, and he was undoubtedly influenced by a serious concern for the welfare of the Church. It was for this purpose that Charles had at one time attempted to obtain the papal throne for Ernest of Pardubic, Archbishop of Prague, who would probably have willingly acceded to the wishes of the King of Bohemia, by restoring the seat of papacy to Rome.

A great majority of the cardinals, particularly those who were of French nationality, strongly opposed the transfer of the papal court, as they did not wish to leave their own country, and were also influenced by the state of insecurity prevalent in Italy at that time.

From Avignon Charles made a short excursion to Arles to be crowned there as King of Arles,[1] a former dependency

[1] "The kingdom of Burgundy or Arles (*regnum Burgundiae, regnum Arelatense*) included Provence, Dauphiné, Savoy, the country between the Saone and the Jura, and a considerable part of what is now Switzerland. On the death of its last independent king, Rudolph, in 1002

of the Empire, but of which the greatest part had already been absorbed in the kingdom of France.

The Emperor's visit to the Pope, though only of ten days' duration, was, on the whole, successful, as he had obtained the Pope's promise to transfer the Holy See to Rome as soon as Charles should be able to enter Italy with an army, and protect the Pope against his enemies in that country.

On his return to Germany, Charles found that country so disturbed by internal dissensions, that he was not immediately able to fulfil his promise to the Pope. It was only in the year 1368 that Charles undertook a new expedition to Italy, where he first forced Bernabo de' Visconti, Lord of Milan, to sue for peace, and then marched to Rome to visit Pope Urban V, who had already arrived there the year before. Charles remained in Italy more than a year, but was recalled by threatening news from the East. King Louis of Hungary and King Casimir of Poland had entered into an alliance for the purpose of limiting what to them seemed the undue aggrandizement of the house of Luxemburg. They particularly wished to prevent the absorption of Brandenburg in the already extensive hereditary dominions of the Emperor Charles.

Margrave Otho of Brandenburg, son of the former German Emperor Louis and husband of Catherine, daughter of the Emperor Charles, had ceded the succession to his margravate to his father-in-law, mainly on account of loans he had received from him. Otho, principally through the advice of King Louis of Hungary, now attempted to deny the validity of this engagement, and declared his nephew Frederick (son of his brother Stephen, Duke of Bavaria) his heir. Charles considered this violation of his pledge as a cause of war, and invaded Brandenburg (1371). After some fighting, Margrave Otho was obliged to submit, as he was insufficiently aided by the King of Hungary, and the death of King Casimir of Poland at this time frustrated all hope of help from that country. An agreement was arrived at (1373) through the mediation of the Pope—now Gregory XI. Otho renounced all his claims on Brandenburg, even during his lifetime, on payment of a large sum of money, and on the condition that the Emperor should

it came into the hands of the Emperor Conrad II, and henceforward formed a part of the Empire. As early as the thirteenth century parts of it fell into the hands of France" (Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*).

cede certain castles in the Upper Palatinate to him. According to the wishes of the Estates of Brandenburg, that country was incorporated with the lands of the Bohemian crown, and thus became an object of more direct interest to Charles.

By the annexation of Silesia, Lusatia, and Brandenburg, the Bohemian kingdom had in itself become one of the great European Powers, particularly as Charles had also obtained possession of territories in Germany. Large though isolated districts in the present kingdoms of Bavaria and Saxony had become either domains of the sovereign of Bohemia, or fiefs of the Bohemian crown, forming what Palacký calls "Bohemian islands" in Germany. It seems very probable that Charles planned the reconstruction of the German Empire under the house of Luxemburg, and with Bohemia as its centre. This plan, "had it succeeded, would have transformed Germany into a monarchy such as France was; but it would undoubtedly have resulted in the dissolution of the Bohemian nationality as such."[1]

It was certainly in view of these ambitious plans that Charles, at the price of great sacrifices, induced the German princes, during his lifetime, to proclaim his son Venceslas as his successor (1376).

Charles died two years later (1378), at the age of sixty-two, at a moment when his death was an even more irreparable loss to Bohemia than it would have been at any other time.

The death of Pope Gregory XI in the same year (1378) marks the beginning of the great schism in the Western Church which tended largely to give a revolutionary turn to the movement in favour of Church reform already existing in Bohemia. If such conjectures were not in themselves futile, it would be interesting to speculate on the results had Charles—not then a very old man—lived to a greater age. As a man of acknowledged piety and learning,[2] faithful to the dogmas of the Catholic Church, and yet thoroughly convinced of the necessity of the reform of that Church, it is probable that the part he would have played would have differed much from that of his son and successor.

Charles, German Emperor and King of Bohemia, has been very differently judged by the historians of the two

[1] Palacký.

[2] Palacký calls him the most learned sovereign of his age.

countries. It has been attempted in these notes to give some idea—as far as a limited space allows—of the policy by which Charles strove, and successfully strove, to raise Bohemia to the rank of one of the great Powers of Europe, and at the same time to secure for it a degree of prosperity the country had never enjoyed before.

On the other hand, Charles has been very severely criticized by the German historians. The title of "Pfaffenkaiser" (Emperor of the priests), which they usually give him, is entirely unmerited, in so far as it implies undue subserviency to the Papal See.[1] The Golden Bull, which very seriously curtailed the rights of the Popes as to the elections of the kings of the Germans, the attitude of Charles at the Diet of Maintz, the protection he afforded to priests—such as Conrad Waldhauser and Milič of Kroměříže—who were accused of heresy, sufficiently prove that Charles was no bigot. That his disposition was truly and unaffectedly religious is indeed clearly shown by his policy, as well as by his own autobiography. Though he was undoubtedly a sincere friend of the Bohemian nation it is impossible to agree with the often-quoted appreciation of the Emperor Maximilian, who called his illustrious predecessor the "father of Bohemia but the stepfather of the Holy Roman Empire."

Venceslas, son of Charles by his third wife, Anna of Schweidnitz, was only seventeen years of age when he succeeded his father. The Emperor's joy at again having a male heir[2] was perhaps one of the causes of the excessive fondness he showed for his son,[3] of which he gave a proof by causing him, when only two years of age, to be crowned as King of Bohemia. Charles, as already mentioned, also secured the succession to the German throne to his eldest son. Of the two other sons whom Charles left, the one, Sigismund, inherited Brandenburg, the other, John, a part of Lusatia. Charles's brother, John Henry, had died three years before him, and had been succeeded by his eldest son

[1] It is curious to find these appreciations of German authors—largely founded on national antipathies—repeated by such modern English writers as Carlyle and Mr. J. R. Green.

[2] A son of Charles by his second wife, Anna of the Palatinate, also called Venceslas, was born in 1350, but died in 1351.

[3] Palacký tells us that Charles, anxious to obtain as tutor for his son the most learned man of his age, offered that post to Petrarch, who, however, declined it.

Jodocus—or Jobst. Of the other sons of John Henry, one, Prokop, who played a somewhat important part in the troubles that soon broke out in Bohemia, inherited lands in Moravia, while the other became Bishop of Litomyšl, and afterwards Patriarch of Aquileja.

In the beginning of his reign Venceslas, still surrounded by the old, experienced councillors of his father, gave proof of the best intentions for the welfare of his country. He attempted to rule the country on the same principles as Charles, and also endeavoured to suppress the schism in the Western Church, then the all-important matter of interest in the whole of Europe. The schism began almost simultaneously with the accession of Venceslas, and its influence on the religious disputes of Bohemia can hardly be overrated. The practice adopted by the rival claimants to the papal throne of excommunicating each other, and of employing the most terrible threats known to mediaeval theology against the adherents of their rival, brought these weapons of ecclesiastical warfare into discredit, and undermined the authority of the Church, which had been already weakened by the attacks of Waldhauser and Milič on the immorality of the clergy.

After the death of Pope Gregory XI (1378) the cardinals had elected as Pope Bartolomeo Prignani, Archbishop of Bari, who assumed the title of Urban VI; but some of their numbers, probably influenced by the French court, which desired the return of the Popes to Avignon, disputed the validity of the election of Urban VI, as having been forced on the cardinals by the menacing attitude of the Roman people. They assembled at Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples, and chose as Pope Cardinal Robert of Geneva, who assumed the name of Clement VII. The Emperor Charles had, during the last months of his life, warmly defended the validity of the election of Pope Urban,[1] and Venceslas at first endeavoured to continue his father's policy. At the Imperial Diet which assembled at Frankfort in 1379, Venceslas induced the German princes to recognize Urban VI as legitimate Pope, and to renounce all connection with "Robert of Geneva, the so-called Pope Clement VII."

[1] Palacký tells us that Charles, in the last months of his life, wrote letters to the dissenting cardinals urging them to recognize Pope Urban, and that he also wrote to Queen Joan of Naples, entreating her to afford no aid to the cardinals who were then assembled in Neapolitan territory.

It was even declared that in case of the death of Venceslas nobody should be chosen as his successor who had not previously declared that he recognized Urban VI as the legitimate head of the Church.

The able counsel of the old ministers of the Emperor Charles, on whose advice he had attempted to restore unity to the Church, and who had guided him at first in the government of Bohemia,[1] soon began to fail the king, and he gradually fell under other and very different influences. Venceslas more and more incurred the enmity of the higher nobility and of the great State officials by the favour he showed to persons of lower rank, knights and citizens, on whom he even—to the great indignation of the nobles—conferred court dignities. The very scanty records we have of the earlier part of the reign of Venceslas contain repeated —probably not unfounded—complaints of the increasing laziness and drunkenness of the king, whose character seems gradually to have deteriorated.

The friendship between France and Bohemia, which had become less intimate during the last years of the reign of Charles, ceased entirely in consequence of the support given by Venceslas to Pope Urban VI. Shortly after, and to a certain extent in consequence of this event, a family alliance between the houses of Plantagenet and Luxemburg took place. As the King of France supported the claims of Pope Clement VII, Venceslas hoped to secure for Urban the adherence of England, then the perpetual adversary of France. He addressed a letter to Richard II, informing him that he and the German princes, including his brother Sigismund, recognized Urban VI as the legitimate Pope, and intended to support him. The King of England evidently agreed with the views of Venceslas, for he forwarded a copy of this letter to Peter, King of Arragon, exhorting him also to recognize Pope Urban. The agreement between the two sovereigns as to the then all-important question of the legitimate succession to the papal throne was shortly followed by a treaty by which the two royal families became connected.[2] Through the envoys of the

[1] "At least during the first fifteen years of the reign of Venceslas public order and tranquillity were as secure (in Bohemia) as during the reign of his father" (Tomek).

[2] Want of space renders it impossible to enter into details as to the matrimonial negotiations.

two sovereigns, a marriage between King Richard and Anne, daughter of the late Emperor Charles and sister of King Venceslas, was arranged. A treaty was at the same time concluded, by which both sovereigns again pledged themselves to recognize Pope Urban and his legitimate successors. It was further stipulated that the subjects of King Richard should be allowed to come to the (German) empire and Venceslas's own lands for purposes of trade, and remain there without hindrance. No reciprocity was granted with regard to the Bohemian and German merchants. "The munificent bridegroom granted his future brother-in-law a loan of 20,000 golden guldens, for which no guarantee was claimed. The deed, which was signed by the envoys, provided that the claim on the money lent to King Venceslas should be invalid from the moment that Princess Anne arrived in England or at Calais. It is therefore not surprising that the people of England should have said that Venceslas had sold them his sister—particularly as King Richard also promised Venceslas to pay the sum of 80,000 golden guldens to him within a fortnight of the arrival of Princess Anne in English territory."[1] On December 13, 1381, the Bohemian princess landed at Dover, and we are told that she brought with her a copy of the Bible written in Latin, Bohemian, and German. There seems to be no doubt that the Bohemian princess kept up a correspondence with her country, so that it is possible, though not probable, that she—according to the general supposition—contributed to making the teaching of Wycliffe known in Bohemia.

The ever-increasing hostility in Bohemia against the clergy, particularly its higher orders, at that time extended to the king also, and to the favourites who surrounded him. One of these, John Čuch of Zasada, who held the office of Court Marshal, became involved in a quarrel with John Jenstein, now Archbishop of Prague, for a very paltry cause.[2] The king energetically took the part of his favourite, and caused the archbishop, who had attempted to secure his claim by force, to be imprisoned in the

[1] Dr. Höfler, *Anna von Luxemburg, Königin von England.*

[2] The archbishop accused Zasada of having constructed a weir on the river Elbe near the lands of the archbishop, and caused the weir to be forcibly removed by his retainers. In the struggle which ensued fire-arms are said to have been used for the first time in Bohemia.

fortress of Karlstein; he even permitted Zasada to revenge himself on the archbishop by plundering the archiepiscopal lands. This quarrel was finally made up, but the feeling at court against the archbishop became even more bitter than before. John of Jenstein certainly did not assume a conciliatory attitude. At a moment when the anti-clerical feeling was so strong in Bohemia, and when the Church was weakened by its division, he attempted to enforce claims that would have been challenged even in quieter times. The question as to the limits of temporal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction at that period caused great difficulties, as persons enjoying clerical immunities often committed the greatest excesses. In the year 1392 the archbishop excommunicated the king's vice-chamberlain, because he had ordered several students of theology—who had, however, not yet been consecrated as priests—to be arrested, and two of them to be executed. The vice-chamberlain had taken this action with the full approval of the king. The archbishop did not deny the justice of the punishment, but he complained of the infringement of the ecclesiastical immunities.

The excommunication of one of his officials for actions done with the knowledge and approval of the king violently irritated him, and another incident that occurred shortly afterwards raised the fury of the irascible king to the highest pitch. He had planned the foundation of a new bishopric in Bohemia, probably by the advice of the ecclesiastics at his court, who coveted the new appointment. Venceslas only waited for the death of the Abbot Raček of Kladrau to suppress that convent and endow the new bishopric with its revenues. No opposition was to be feared from Pope Boniface IX,[1] with whom the king was on terms of friendship. The archbishop, however, frustrated the plans of Venceslas by sending to Kladrau his vicar-general, John of Pomuk, who induced the monks, immediately after the death of Raček, to choose a new abbot, whose election Pomuk, in the name of the archbishop, immediately confirmed.

The king's fury now knew no bounds. The court officials very imprudently arranged a meeting between Venceslas and the archbishop. On seeing the latter the king was quite unable to control his fury. He ordered John of

[1] Boniface IX had succeeded Urban VI in 1389. In 1394 Benedict XIII succeeded Clement VII as anti-Pope at Avignon.

Jenstein and the ecclesiastics who accompanied him to be immediately arrested. The archbishop escaped by the protection of his armed retinue, but the four ecclesiastics who were with him, and among whom was John of Pomuk, were thrown into prison and put on the rack by order of the king. Venceslas insisted that they should give a written promise to abandon the archbishop, and act in future according to the king's wishes. Three of them immediately submitted to the demands of Venceslas, but John of Pomuk refused to do so, and was so cruelly tortured that his death became certain, whereupon he was thrown into the river Vltava.[1]

The archbishop meanwhile fled to the court of Pope Boniface at Rome, but he received little encouragement from him. The schism in the Western Church made it impossible for the Pope to risk alienating the friendship of the German king, the most important of his adherents among the reigning princes. Finding no support in Rome, John of Jenstein returned to Bohemia, and soon after voluntarily renounced his position as Archbishop of Prague (1393).

Venceslas had, on the whole, been successful in reducing the clergy of Bohemia to obedience, but he now found himself confronted by a confederation of the Bohemian nobles, which became known as the "League of the Lords," and to which many of his nearest relations adhered—some secretly, some openly. The leaders of the confederacy were Henry, Lord of Rosenberg, and the king's cousin, Jocodus of Moravia. Albert III, Duke of Austria, and William, Margrave of Meissen, also joined the league. Venceslas's brother Sigismund, King of Hungary,[2] appears to have played a double game. While assuring Venceslas of his friendship, he was all along in complete understanding with the league.

The nobles who belonged to the league accused the king of various misdeeds, but their main purpose was undoubtedly

[1] The legend of St. John of Nepomuk derives its origin from this occurrence. At the time of the canonization of St. John Bohemian history was only known in Western Europe through the utterly unreliable chronicle of Hajek of Libočan.

[2] Sigismund had (1385) married Mary, daughter of King Louis of Hungary, and had (1387) been crowned as King of Hungary. The expenses he incurred in maintaining his position in that country forced him to sell Brandebourg (1388) to his cousin, Margrave Jodocus of Moravia.

to restrict his rights as to the appointments to the great State and court offices. They therefore demanded a promise from the king that he would in future govern according to the advice of State officials, whom he was to choose among the higher nobility: on his refusal they attacked him in his castle of Beraun, and conducted him to Prague as a prisoner. The lords of the league then declared Jodocus of Moravia "starosta" (dictator).[1]

Venceslas contrived to communicate secretly with his brother John, Duke of Görlitz (in Lusatia), and succeeded in obtaining aid from him. The people of Bohemia, who had no cause to complain of Venceslas, even took up arms in his favour, so that when Duke John arrived at Prague he was amicably received by the citizens. Further help arrived from Margrave Prokop, who had long been at enmity with his brother Jodocus, and Venceslas was also supported by several of the German princes, who were indignant at the imprisonment of the King of the Germans. The lords of the league were, at the time, unable to oppose such numerous adversaries, and though they at first obliged Venceslas to follow them as a prisoner, they soon saw the necessity of conditionally restoring him to freedom. The only condition demanded appears to have been a complete amnesty for the lords of the league, which was guaranteed by Duke John in the name of his brother, who refused to enter into any negotiations till he had recovered his liberty. Almost immediately after his liberation Venceslas endeavoured to make preparations for renewed warfare against the league of the lords, but his efforts to form a party were entirely unsuccessful. After the death of Duke John (1396) the king was obliged to ask his brother Sigismund, King of Hungary, and even Margrave Jodocus, to mediate between him and the nobles of Bohemia.

The agreement which, through the mediation of King Sigismund, was now obtained, corresponded entirely to the wishes of the league. Venceslas undertook to appoint members of that league to all the important State offices. The head of the league, Henry, Lord of Rosenberg, became burgrave, and Margrave Jodocus remained at Prague practically usurping the regal powers. Irritated by the

[1] This title, derived from the earliest times of Bohemian history, ensured to its bearer almost unlimited power, so that the authority of Venceslas became purely nominal.

overbearing attitude of Jodocus, Venceslas shortly afterwards banished him from Bohemia, and on his departure for Germany left the Margrave Prokop—now for some time his most trusted councillor—as his representative in Bohemia.

The presence of Venceslas was at that moment very necessary in Germany. The want of firmness he had lately shown in the administration of his hereditary lands had encouraged his enemies in Germany, at whose head was the ambitious Elector Palatine Ruprecht. He summoned a Diet of the Empire to Frankfort (1398), but this step was taken too late to disarm his enemies, who were already planning his deposition. From Germany King Venceslas proceeded to France to consult with King Charles VI as to the means of ending the papal schism. The two sovereigns decided that both Popes should abdicate, and that the united assembly of the cardinals should elect a new Pope.

This settlement was naturally displeasing to Pope Boniface, and when Venceslas informed him of his wish that he should abdicate, he became an enemy of the king, and consequently a supporter of the Elector Palatine. Countenanced by Boniface, the three ecclesiastical Electors deposed Venceslas (1400), accusing him of neglecting the affairs of the Empire and alienating lands belonging to it,[1] and in his place chose Rupert, Elector Palatine, as King of the Germans. Encouraged by Rupert, the lords of the league had in 1399 again taken up arms against their king.

A new internal struggle began in Bohemia, of which we have very scanty record, but in which the Confederates on the whole had the advantage. Venceslas was again obliged to come to terms with his enemies, and to appoint a council from among the principal nobles of the country, a point that had always been the principal object of the league of the lords. The new Archbishop of Prague, Wilfram of Skvorec, and Henry, Lord of Rosenberg, were to hold the principal offices of State. Venceslas about this time succeeded in detaching Margrave Jodocus from the Confederacy by giving up Lusatia to him for his lifetime.

King Sigismund of Hungary had not been able to interfere during the new troubles, as he had at that time been

[1] This referred to the fact that Venceslas had conferred the title of Duke of Milan on John Galeazzo de' Visconti without consulting the Electors.

imprisoned by the rebellious Hungarian nobles, who behaved towards him very much in the same way as the Bohemian lords had formerly done to Venceslas. King Venceslas was much grieved by the imprisonment of his brother, whom he believed to be his friend, and it was principally through his efforts and financial sacrifices that Sigismund at last regained his liberty.

Foolishly relying on the gratitude of his younger brother, Venceslas hoped to be able with his help to throw off the mastership of the State officials, whom he had been obliged to appoint, and who had practically annulled the power of the Crown. Venceslas invited Sigismund to Bohemia as soon as he had regained his liberty, and associated him as co-regent in the government of the country. He wished his brother to accompany him to Italy, intending at last to journey to Rome for his coronation. Sigismund abused the confidence of his credulous brother in the most infamous way. During the journey he seized Venceslas as a prisoner, and by his own authority appointed Bishop John of Litomyšl Governor of Bohemia, intending to deprive Venceslas entirely of his sovereignty over that country. Margrave Prokop, whom Venceslas had again appointed regent, was imprisoned by order of Sigismund. As an insurrection against the unconstitutional rule of Bishop John broke out almost immediately, Sigismund hastened back to Bohemia, leaving Venceslas as a prisoner in the custody of his ally, the Duke of Austria. Sigismund was on the point of opening hostilities against the Bohemian towns that adhered to King Venceslas, when an insurrection in Hungary recalled him to that country, and for the time freed Bohemia of his presence.

Shortly afterwards (1403) Venceslas succeeded in escaping from Vienna, where he had been imprisoned by the Duke of Austria, and he speedily returned to Bohemia. He was this time cordially received, even by his former enemies, whom the outrageous extortions of Sigismund had alienated. The league of the lords was voluntarily dissolved, and Venceslas again became undisputed ruler of Bohemia.

The movement in favour of religious reform, which commenced during the reign of King Charles IV, had constantly increased in the ten years during which the struggle between Venceslas and the Bohemian nobles had lasted. Waldhauser and Milič had died before the accession of Venceslas;

but Matthew of Janow had gone a step further than his predecessors, as—besides inveighing against the notorious immorality of the clergy—he also attacked several dogmas of the Church. He was indeed persuaded to withdraw his heretical statements, but this in no way impeded the growth of the movement, which, through the agency of John Hus, was soon to become of world-wide importance.

It has often been asked why the general degradation of the clergy and the scandal caused by the schism, seeing how common they were to the whole Western Church, should have aroused in Bohemia a wider movement than in any other country. One of these reasons is generally supposed to be the influence of Wycliffe in Bohemia, and it is certain that his writings were more studied at the University of Prague than in many places nearer England, and that several of his doctrines were defended by Hus. The influence of Queen Anne of England has also been put forward as facilitating knowledge in Bohemia of occurrences in England, and from the queen's pious disposition it is not unlikely that the correspondence she carried on with relations and friends in Bohemia contained allusions to theological matters. The fact of the possession by the queen of a Bible in the vulgar tongue (a fact already mentioned), has been made an excuse for many suppositions, but there is no direct evidence that the queen favoured any movement for Church reform either in England or in Bohemia.

If the writings of Wycliffe attracted more attention in Bohemia than elsewhere, it is because the soil was already prepared for religious changes. The movement against the Roman Church was, on the whole, an indigenous one, and was to a great extent caused by the national differences between Germans and Bohemians.

The Bohemian language, which had been neglected at court and in the towns during the reigns of the last Přemyslides, had increased in importance under Charles, and still more under Venceslas. The principal causes of this change date from the reign of King Charles; they were the creation of the Archbishopric of Prague, by which Bohemia was detached from the German Archbishopric of Maintz, and the foundation of the "new town" of Prague in which—contrary to the customs of the older town—the Bohemian language was used for the purpose of administration and

justice. A further step in the same direction was the decision of Venceslas that all decrees of the court and the Government, for which hitherto either the German or the Latin tongue had been employed, should henceforth be published in Bohemian. We also find at this period an increasing movement among the Bohemian clergy in favour of preaching in the native language, even in the towns; and it is probable that the example of Milič of Kroměříže, whose sermons had so deeply stirred the people, contributed largely to induce the clergy to use the native language for their sermons.

The national party, as soon as it had gathered strength, began to view with displeasure the condition of the Prague University, the great intellectual centre of the country. The management of the university, and therefore the right to confer the numerous dignities, professorships, and prebends which were in its gift, was entirely in German hands. It has already been mentioned that the university was divided into four "nations"; and as the Polish "nation," particularly after the foundation of the University of Cracow, was largely composed of Germans from Silesia and Pomerania, the Slav Bohemians found themselves in a permanent minority in their own country; this was considered particularly unfair, as the university had been founded and endowed at the expense of Bohemia. A movement against the predominance of the Germans began as early as 1385, when the Bohemians specially attacked the appointment of foreigners to the offices of the university. The Archbishop of Prague, to whom both parties appealed, decided in favour of the Bohemians, declaring that preference should be given to them, and that Germans should in future hold the offices of the university only in the absence of a fit Bohemian candidate. The Germans appealed to the Pope, and a compromise was at last obtained, according to which five of the great university dignities were always to be held by Bohemians, whilst the sixth one should alternate in the sequence that after two consecutive German occupants one Bohemian should always follow. This compromise only postponed temporarily the national struggle at the university, and it was inevitable that when a leader appeared in whom both the religious and the national tendencies of the country were personified, an outbreak must occur.

Such a leader was found in John Hus. Before giving

what, for want of space, must be a very short sketch of his career,[1] it will be well to mention one of the theories as to the origin of the Hussite movement. It is connected with the now uncontested fact that the struggle between the German and the Slav race was the principal cause of that movement.

It has been said by Bohemian writers since the seventeenth century, and it has recently been re-affirmed, especially by Russian historians, that the Hussite movement was not caused by a desire for Church reform, as were the other movements that subsequently took place in the Western world, but that it was rather a movement in favour of joining the Eastern Church; and that "Hus himself was of the orthodox Church (pravoslaw) in his views, his actions, and his endeavours."[2]

The Eastern origin of Christianity in Bohemia, the existence from remote times of the monastery of St. Prokop on the Sazava, which celebrated the services of the Church in the Slav language, the revival of the traditions of that monastery by the foundation of a Slavonic Benedictine convent by Charles IV, the fact that the celibacy of the clergy and the administration of the Communion to laymen in one kind only were introduced into Bohemia far later than into other lands subject to the Western Church, are the principal points in favour of this theory.

The positive statement of Palacký[3]—the standard authority on Bohemian history up to 1526—that in spite of all

[1] For a full account of the career of Hus, I must refer my readers to my *Life and Times of Master John Hus*.

[2] Professor Kalousek, in a very remarkable article on "Russian Researches on the Causes and Objects of the Hussite Movement," published in the *Journal of the Bohemian Museum* for 1882. The learned professor is strongly opposed to this theory, which it would perhaps be hardly necessary to notice were it not that its very general acceptation in Russia gives it a certain importance. In the article mentioned above, Professor Kalousek says (quoting from a recent Russian writer), that the theory of the Greek "orthodox" origin and tendency of the "Hussite movement has, in Russia, been introduced into the school-books as an uncontested fact; it is maintained by people otherwise of the most divergent opinions; we hear of it from theologians and publicists on the most varied occasions, at Hus's jubilee, and at the foundation of the Greek Church at Prague, at the Slav Congress at Moscow (1867), and on the occasion of the Old-Catholic movement in Germany; everywhere they remind us of the 'orthodox' tendencies of the Bohemians."

[3] Palacký, *Böhmische Geschichte*, vol. iii. bk. vi. chap. iii.

researches among contemporary records he was unable to discover any trace whatever of Greco-Slavonic religious traditions at the period we refer to, may be considered as decisive.

It is possible that the religious and national aspirations of Bohemia would not have had the world-wide importance which they attained had it not been for John Hus, who is undoubtedly the most prominent representative of the Czecho-Slavic race in the the world's story.

John Hus was born at Husinec in Southern Bohemia, of parents who, though of humble birth, appear to have been in comparatively affluent circumstances. The date of his birth is uncertain; the most recent writers place it between 1373 and 1375. He studied at the University of Prague, at which he obtained the rank of "Magister" (M.A.) in 1396. He became Dean of the faculty of Philosophy in 1401, and Rector of the university, for the first time, in 1402. His marvellous eloquence as a preacher from the first attracted attention, and it does not seem to have impeded his career that, about the year 1399, he was already accused by some of his colleagues of maintaining doctrines contained in the writings of Wycliffe which the Council of Blackfriars had already condemned. These accusations also in no way prevented his gaining great favour both with the people and with the court; and Queen Sophia, wife of Venceslas, about this time appointed him her confessor. A large part of the nobility and particularly the courtiers and favourites of Venceslas, then openly supported Hus. "Among the Bohemian laymen of the highest rank there were enlightened men who were thoroughly interested in the spiritual requirements of their age; others also who had from old entertained a feeling of envy towards the superior ecclesiastics because of their wealth and immunities, and viewed with favour the hostile movement against them among the lower clergy and the people. The courtiers of Venceslas almost all belonged to one or the other division of the furtherers of the movement which strove to obtain Church reform."[1]

The estrangement of the king from Pope Boniface naturally embittered the courtiers against the higher clergy, who had maintained their allegiance to Boniface; though Sigismund, while ruling Bohemia during his brother's

[1] Tomek.

captivity, had attempted to detach the country from its allegiance to that Pope. Sigismund had (1403) instructed the Bohemian clergy not to obey any orders received from Boniface, who had previously called on the German princes to dethrone the house of Luxemburg, and to recognize the Elector Palatine as king. It may be added that Boniface, not having the whole revenue of the Church at his disposal, had aroused great indignation by exacting enormous sums for his confirmation of bishops and archbishops, and had even established a rule that the benefices in his gift, when vacant, or even when a vacancy was expected, should be publicly sold to the highest bidder.[1]

It will thus be seen that the Hussite movement was at first favoured by the queen and court, and was then by no means the democratic movement which it afterwards became.

There was only one element in Bohemia that was from the very first hostile to the new movement, and that was the German party, both in the towns and at the university. The doctrines of Wycliffe had been freely expounded at the university in 1402, during which year Hus was Rector, and several of his friends, also belonging to the Bohemian "nation," held high appointments there. The German members of the university, both from national and from religious motives, opposed these doctrines, and when Walter Harasser of the Bavarian "nation" was Rector in the following year he convoked a general meeting of the university, which declared that forty-five articles taken from the writings of Wycliffe contained heresies, and forbade all members of the university to circulate them. Hus and the Bohemian "nation" protested against the decision, as they maintained—not without some truth—that the articles that had been read out were falsified, and did not convey Wycliffe's meaning. This debate was the first public manifestation of the reform movement. The Bohemians were greatly incensed at having been outvoted by the Germans,[2] and neither this decision, nor the subsequent prohibition addressed by the archbishop to the clergy of preaching the doctrine contained in the forty-five articles, interrupted the reform movement to any great extent. In 1408 the forty-

[1] Tomek.

[2] The compromise of 1385 had made no change in the system that all important votes at the university were taken by "nations," a system that left the Bohemians in a permanent minority of three to one.

five articles were again brought before the university, or rather before the forum of the Bohemian "nation," in which alone these doctrines had found adherents. The articles were again condemned, but with the limitation "that no member of the Bohemian 'nation' was to defend these articles in their false, erroneous, or heretical sense." As Palacký remarks, this restriction rendered the whole prohibition illusory.

During all this period the still-protracted schism in the Church reacted on the religious struggle in Bohemia. As both the Roman Pope, Gregory XII, and the Avignon Pope, Benedict XIII,[1] refused to renounce their claim to be considered the rightful Pontiff, the cardinals of both parties had—supported by the kings of Germany and France—decided that a Council should settle the question, and that in the meantime neither of the two claimants should be recognized as head of the Church.

Venceslas immediately attempted to enforce this decision in his hereditary lands, and on the refusal of the Archbishop of Prague to renounce his allegiance to Gregory XII he deferred the matter to the Prague University, a step entirely in conformance with the ideas of the time. Another general assembly of the members of the university now took place (1408), under the presidency of the Rector, Henry of Baltenhagen, a German. By the votes of the three German "nations," which overruled the Bohemian suffrages, it was decided that the university should continue to recognize Gregory XII as head of the Church.

Venceslas, who was then residing at Kutna Hora, summoned there representatives of both parties at the university, wishing to consult them on the subject of the deposition of Pope Gregory. The German deputation, headed by the Rector, Baltenhagen, was first received by the king. Baltenhagen cunningly avoided alluding to the subject on which his opinion had been asked, and drew the king's attention to the prevalence of "Wycliffism" in Prague. He declared that the good fame of Bohemia as a country free from heresy was imperilled. This was a point on which Venceslas felt very strongly. When, therefore, Hus and Jerome, as leaders of the Bohemian deputation, appeared

[1] Pope Boniface IX died in 1404, and was succeeded by Innocent VII, and then (1406) by Gregory XII. Benedict XIII had (1394) succeeded Clement VII as anti-Pope at Avignon.

before him, he received them very ungraciously. He accused them of fomenting disorders, and threatened them with death at the stake. Baltenhagen and the other Germans left Kutna Hora, assured that all their privileges at the university would be maintained.

The ever-vacillating king, in this instance, was again fated not to adhere to his first decision. Through the influence of those among his courtiers who favoured the national movement and the cause of reform, Venceslas was soon persuaded to accede to the wishes of the Bohemian party at the university, and to change the system of voting. He therefore published in January 1409 the famed "decree of Kutna Hora."[1] This decree ordained that the Bohemian "nation" should henceforth have three votes, and the combined foreign "nations" only one vote, both in the general deliberations of the university and in those of the separate faculties. The first result of this innovation was that the university, according to the wishes of the king, now decreed that Pope Gregory should no longer be recognized in Bohemia, and the clergy of the country should abide by the decision of the Council. Another more important consequence of the king's decision was that the German professors and students, considering themselves injured in their rights, left Prague to the number of about five thousand (1409).[2] Only the German members of the Polish "nation" joined in the emigration; those who were of the Slav race remained, and became part of the Bohemian "nation," with which their sympathies had been enlisted during the previous struggle. Hus, now the recognized leader of the national party, was elected Rector (1409), though he had served in that capacity only a few years before.

The reform movement naturally gathered increased strength from its success, and the university, formerly its opponent, now took the lead in furthering this movement, of which it henceforth became the centre. On the other hand, many of the patriotic nobles and other sympathizers with the claims of the Bohemian nationalists had little interest in theological details, or animosity against the

[1] A full account of the decree of Kutna Hora will be found in my *Life and Times of Master J. Hus*, p. 105.

[2] This seems to be the most probable number, though a contemporary Bohemian writer tells us that 20,000 German members of the university left Prague.

Church of Rome. These, considering that the object of the national party had been attained, gradually abandoned the party led by Hus; for not only had the university—the great centre of political life in Bohemia—fallen into the hands of the nationalists, but they shortly afterwards also obtained the municipal control over many towns.

The hopes that the Council then assembled at Pisa would undertake Church reform (hopes that at that moment were entertained by many fervent adherents of the Church of Rome) proved futile. The Council may indeed be said to have rendered the situation of the Western Church even more difficult than it had been before. The Council (1409) deposed both Gregory XII and Benedict XIII, and chose Alexander V as Pope,[1] but as the two other Popes, Gregory and Benedict, continued to be recognized in some countries, there were for a time three popes simultaneously. It is curious to note that at the same period, on the death of Rupert of the Palatinate (1401), some of the German Electors chose King Sigismund of Hungary, and others his cousin Jodocus, the Margrave of Moravia, as German king. Venceslas (as has been previously mentioned) having also claimed that title, the German kingdom had three kings at the same moment as the Roman Church had three popes. Jodocus died (1411) only three months after his election, and Venceslas and Sigismund now came to an agreement. The terms are not exactly known, as contemporary writers, entirely occupied with the ecclesiastical strife then raging in Bohemia, give little information on other matters. Venceslas, ever too confident in his treacherous younger brother, not only consented to the election of his brother as German king, but even assured him his own vote. Sigismund, on the other hand, promised to favour in every way his brother's election as Roman Emperor. Sigismund was soon afterwards, and this time unanimously, chosen as king by the German Electors (1411).

The failure of the Council of Pisa to achieve or even to attempt any reform of the Church, undoubtedly encouraged the higher clergy of Bohemia to oppose more energetically than before the reform movement in their own country. Zbyněk Zajic of Hasenburg, archbishop of Prague, had not at first been hostile to the movement in favour of

[1] He was succeeded in the following year by John XXIII.

Church reform. He soon noticed the piety and eloquence of the young priest, John Hus. He even appointed him preacher to the synod, and entrusted him with important missions. It was only gradually that Hus lost the favour of his ecclesiastical superiors, and only from the end of the year 1408 did the Church of Rome consider him as an open enemy. After having obtained the consent of the pope, Zbyněk decided to strike a decisive blow against the Hussite party. He issued a decree ordering that all writings of Wycliffe, wherever they were found, should be burnt; and he prohibited all preaching except in parish or college churches, or in convents. This was directly aimed at Hus, who generally preached in the so-called Bethlehem Chapel, which was a private foundation. Disregarding the appeal that Hus had addressed to Pope John XXIII, the archbishop soon afterwards excommunicated Hus for continuing to preach. At the same time a large number of manuscripts containing Wycliffe's writings were publicly burnt at Prague by order of the archbishop. Venceslas may at this time be considered as still siding with the national party—probably in consequence of the influence of Queen Sophia, who remained warmly attached to Hus. He ordered the archbishop to indemnify the owners of the manuscripts which had been destroyed, some of which were of great value, and seized on part of the revenues of the archbishop and of other higher ecclesiastics. He also wrote to the Pope in favour of Hus, and when the latter was summoned to Rome, Queen Sophia[1] addressed a menacing letter to the cardinals, warning them "that if the Holy College did not find means to arrange this matter, the king and the Bohemian lords would soon see their way to settling it according to their views." Both the king and the national party at court indeed still maintained that Hus had uttered no heresy, and that it was his German accusers who dis-

[1] Baron Helfert, writing strongly from the papal point of view, severely blames Queen Sophia, and pronounces a general and rather severe judgment on the female sex: "Women have with rare exceptions, noted in history, no tact, no independent judgment as to how public affairs should be conducted. . . . In politics, as in household matters, they are led more by sentiment than by sense. If a man is at their side . . . they are attracted by his political views, and generally go further than he does" (Helfert, *Hus und Hieronymus*). Of course the supposed influence of Hus over Queen Sophia, whose confessor he was, is alluded to.

turbed the quiet of the country. The king's letter to the Pope was at first without result, and the Archbishop of Prague, indignant at the loss of part of his revenues, placed the town of Prague under an interdict, thus prohibiting all religious ceremonies.

At this time occurred one of the many temporary and insincere reconciliations between Venceslas and his brother Sigismund, and there appeared to be some hope of a peaceful ending of the ecclesiastical conflict in Bohemia. Pope John temporarily suspended the proceedings which the Roman courts had already begun against Hus; and Sigismund, during a visit to his brother at Prague, induced the archbishop to remove the interdict from the town, and even to use his influence in favour of the suppression of the proceedings against Hus in the Roman ecclesiastical courts. The hopes of those who wished to end the ecclesiastical strife in Bohemia were raised by the death of Archbishop Zbyněk, and by the choice of Magister Albik as his successor. Albik had long been physician to the king, whose thorough confidence he enjoyed. This was undoubtedly the principal cause of his election; though it is unfortunately probable that he—as was then so frequently the case—made use of bribery to obtain the pope's consent to his election. Magister Albik, then already an elderly man, was only known as one of the first medical men of his age; although in his youth he had been admitted to the lowest of minor orders, that of acolyte, he had been married, but was now a widower.

Albik is described by all contemporary writers as a man of conciliatory disposition, and the intimate relations he enjoyed with the king render it certain that his purpose was the appeasement of Bohemia. It was natural to hope that the election of Albik, an elderly, conciliatory, opulent man, would at least cause a respite in the theological strife that agitated Bohemia.

Events in distant Italy, however, brought on a crisis which was more serious than any of the former disturbances in Bohemia. Ladislas, King of Naples, still supported the cause of Pope Gregory, and war consequently broke out between the king and Pope John. The latter proclaimed a crusade against Ladislas, and promised indulgences to all those who by contributions of money would aid him in the equipment of his army. Preachers sent by the Pope arrived

at Prague (1412). Preceded by drummers they entered the city, and established themselves in the market-place. They called on all passers-by to contribute money or goods in exchange for indulgences. The sale of indulgences had been one of the abuses which the Bohemian Church-reformers had from the first most strenuously opposed. Hus, in his Bethlehem Chapel, spoke strongly against the granting of these indulgences, which he said were given to aid in the slaughter of the soldiers of Ladislas, who could but obey their king. At the same time he disclaimed all intention of taking sides in the quarrel between the two Popes.

Hus also succeeded—contrary to the wishes of the archbishop—in bringing the question of the indulgences before the university. A very stormy meeting of the professors, magisters, and students took place under the presidency of the Rector of the university. Hus and Magister Jerome of Prague violently inveighed against the sale of indulgences, which they declared to be unchristian. The fiery eloquence of Jerome appealed to the younger students even more than that of Hus, and at the end of the disputation they conducted him home in triumph.

Jerome of Prague—who had led a wandering life, visiting among other places Oxford, where he had copied some of Wycliffe's writings—had first become known in Bohemia by a speech he made (1410) in favour of Wycliffe's doctrines. He had then left Bohemia, and had now only just returned to that country, which he again quitted shortly afterwards. It may here be noticed that the influence of Jerome on the religious movement in Bohemia, from which country he was often absent, has been greatly over-rated. His visits to many countries and courts, and the eloquent letter in which Poggio Bracciolini described his death,[1] attracted the attention of all Europe to him at a period when the political condition of Austria and Bohemia rendered inquiry into the details of the Hussite movement an impossibility.

The echo of the stormy debates at the university still further excited the people of Prague, already much moved by the sermons of Hus in the Bethlehem Chapel. To prevent disturbances, the magistrates of Prague, by order of Venceslas, issued a decree forbidding any one under penalty of death to discuss the papal decrees publicly; this

[1] See later.

of course, specially referred to the sale of indulgences. In accordance with this decree, three young men who ventured to interfere with the vendors of the indulgences were seized and publicly executed. A band of students obtained possession of the corpses, and singing the Church hymn "Isti sunt sancti" carried them for burial to the Bethlehem Chapel. This incident marks an important date in the Hussite movement, which now for the first time assumed a revolutionary character. The Pope replied to these attacks on the authority of the Church by renewing in severer terms the decree of excommunication against Hus: all true Christians were forbidden to have any intercourse with him, food and drink were to be supplied to him only under pain of excommunication; all religious services were to be suspended in every town which he entered; finally, Christian burial was to be refused him, and the Bethlehem Chapel was to be destroyed. The Germans, obeying the orders of the Pope, attempted forcibly to take possession of the chapel, but were repulsed by the adherents of Hus.

The king, being still anxious to reconcile the contending parties, begged Hus temporarily to leave Prague, and he immediately obeyed the request of Venceslas. The king promised to endeavour during his absence to put an end to the conflict, so that his exile might not be of long duration.

Archbishop Albik, finding that his conciliatory attitude had only resulted in raising up enemies against him among both the contending parties, now resigned his office. He was succeeded by Conrad of Vechta, formerly Bishop of Olomouc. The new archbishop, on the suggestion of the king, convoked a synod of the clergy (1413), but its deliberations had no satisfactory results, as the reform party still maintained that changes in the government of the Church could alone restore order; while the supporters of the Pope declared that the suppression of all resistance to ecclesiastical authority was the only measure required to obtain peace. A special commission was now appointed by the king, before which the more prominent divines of both parties were summoned to appear. Still the adherents of Hus, on the whole, maintained a conciliatory attitude, while the partisans of the Pope practically declined any sort of compromise with men whom they considered as heretics. King Venceslas, whose honesty of purpose it

is impossible to deny, and who evidently wished to ignore the details of theological strife and to restore peace to his kingdom at any price, was greatly incensed by the attitude of the ecclesiastics of the papal party. Four of them—among whom was Stephen of Palec, afterwards Hus's chief accuser at the Council of Constance—were exiled from Bohemia by order of the king.

Hus, on leaving Prague, had retired to the castle of Kozi Hradek, belonging to one of his adherents, Lord John of Austi, and which was situated near the spot where the town of Tabor was shortly to spring up. Both while staying there, and during his stay at the castle of Krakovec, the seat of Lord Henry of Lazan, one of the king's courtiers, who also belonged to the reform party, Hus continued his preaching: it often took place in the open fields, and the neighbouring peasantry flocked to it in large numbers. Many of his writings, both Latin and Bohemian, date from this period, and it is noticeable that he now, more strongly than before, affirmed that the Bible was the only true source of Christian belief. This position necessarily incensed the adherents of the papal authority more than almost any other could have done.

King Sigismund had meanwhile repaired to Italy, where, during an interview with Pope John at Lodi (1413),[1] he obtained the Pontiff's unwilling consent to summon a General Council of the Church at Constance. King Venceslas believed that the Council would afford him the best means to put an end to the religious dissensions in his kingdom, and Sigismund, with his brother's approval, summoned Hus to appear before the Council of Constance. He also assured him of such ample protection as that he should "come unmolested to Constance, there have free right of audience, and should he not submit to the decision of the Council, he should return unharmed.[2] Hus there-

[1] Richenthal, in his entertaining though unreliable *Chronik des Constanzer Concils*, tells us that the Pope, even after he had consented to proceed to Constance, expressed great displeasure during the journey. His imprecations and curses terrified the pious peasants who flocked to see him. When he was crossing the Arlberg, his carriage was overturned. He then said: "Here I lie in the name of the devil." When in sight of Constance he exclaimed, "Sic capiuntur vulpes."

[2] These important words are quoted from Professor Tomek, who may be thought one of the first Bohemian authorities on this period. The arguments of Bohemian and German writers as to the exact

fore received a letter of safe-conduct from Sigismund, and Venceslas appointed three Bohemian nobles who were to accompany and assist him on the road. Hus started on his fatal journey to Constance in October (1414). He was to meet there most of his Bohemian adversaries, Stephen of Palec, who had been exiled by King Venceslas, several of the former German magisters of the University of Prague (who wished the fact that his influence on the king had contributed to bring about the secession of the German students to be included in the act of accusation), and above all John—surnamed "the Iron"—Bishop of Litomyšl, perhaps the most violent of all the enemies of Church reform. The latter, before starting for Constance, had caused a collection to be made in his diocese to aid him in his defence of the existing system of Church government.

Principally through the influence of the "Iron" Bishop of Litomyšl, Hus was imprisoned almost immediately after his arrival at Constance. Sigismund only made his entry into the town somewhat later on Christmas Eve (1414), when the Bohemian lords immediately complained to him of the imprisonment of their countryman. The king was thoroughly aware that violent measures against Hus would produce troubles, perhaps even a revolution in Bohemia, but his sympathies were entirely on the side of the Roman Church. The well-known remarks he afterwards made to several of the cardinals, advising them to have Hus burnt if he did not retract, and warning them not to trust him even if he did so,[1] sufficiently prove this. A feeble protest was therefore the only effort he made in favour of Hus, and this was ignored by the council.[2] When Pope John XXIII,

meaning of Sigismund's letter of safe-conduct, and the degree of security which it insured, would alone fill a large volume. Baron Helfert, who may be considered as holding a brief for King Sigismund, asserts that the king's letter only assured the safe arrival of Hus at Constance, though Hus started on his journey long before receiving it! It will seem to many that Baron Helfert's clever book rather proves that King Sigismund was thoroughly aware of the disastrous consequences which violent measures against Hus would produce in Bohemia, and showed more foresight than the members of the Council, than that he was more scrupulous in dealing with a "declared heretic" than they were.

[1] Palacký.

[2] For a full account of the trial and death of Hus, see my *Life and Times of Master John Hus.*

after his destitution by the council, secretly left Constance; on March 20, 1415, Hus became the prisoner of Sigismund, who had full power to set him free. The Emperor, however, instead of doing so placed Hus in the custody of the Bishop of Constance, who imprisoned him in his castle of Gottlieben. He was here treated with far greater cruelty than at Constance. The frequent steps taken by the Bohemian nobles then present at Constance to obtain the liberation of Hus were also ineffectual. Yet they had at least that result, that the forms of justice were to a certain extent observed, and that Hus was not condemned entirely without trial. Hus, who had been conducted back to Constance early in June, first appeared before the Council on June 5. His trial continued on June 7 and 8. He was, however, never allowed freely to express his views and was treated with great unfairness and brutality. Many of the accusations were utterly absurd,[1] but others, for instance, that he rejected papal authority and recognized that of the Holy Scriptures only, he himself admitted. He wished to argue this and other propositions, but the Council refused him permission to do so, and insisted on a complete and general retractation of all the heretical doctrines which had been attributed to him. This he refused, preferring to die rather than retract with his lips opinions that he held in his heart.

After June 8, some time was allowed to elapse, as attempts were still made to induce Hus to retract his opinions. When this appeared impossible he was on July 6 brought before the Council and for the last time called on to recant. On his refusal the Council immediately declared him a recusant heretic. This, according to the barbarous laws of the time, entailed death by burning. Hus was given over to the magistrates of Constance, who caused him to be led directly from the cathedral, where the Council held its sittings, to a meadow half-a-mile from the city walls. The cruel sentence was then immediately carried out. When the fire had already been kindled and Hus was surrounded by the flames, his loud prayers could still be heard. His sufferings happily did not last long, as a strong gust of wind suddenly blew the smoke in his face, and he

[1] For instance, that Hus had denied that there were only three Persons in the Godhead, and maintained that there was a fourth, namely, John Hus.

was suffocated. His ashes were thrown into the Rhine, to prevent the Bohemians from carrying away any relics of him to their country.

The career of Hus has almost always been discussed from the point of view of theological controversy; whilst many have extolled him as a martyr, others have described him—as did the Council of Constance—as a "recusant heretic." His sincere piety, his conviction of the truth of his opinions, which he was ready to maintain at the cost of his life, his perfect disinterestedness in one of the most corrupt periods of history, and the personal purity of his life, no impartial student of those times can deny.

In Bohemia, whose inhabitants instinctively saw in Hus the greatest man of their race, he was from the first revered. Hus the Bohemian patriot is loved even by many of his countrymen who are devoted adherents of the church of Rome. The national church of Bohemia from its beginning conferred on Hus—as will be mentioned presently—the well-deserved name of a martyr.

Before referring to the momentous consequences which the death of Hus entailed on Bohemia, we must notice the end of Jerome of Prague, who, prior to the time when researches concerning the Hussite movement had become possible in Bohemia, was generally placed at the side of Hus as the most prominent of his disciples.

No greater contrast can be imagined than the lives of Hus and of Jerome. Whilst Hus had hardly ever left Bohemia before his fatal journey to Constance, Jerome had visited Palestine and many European countries, and had been received at various courts, where his learning and his attractive manners had gained him many friends. Jerome had, however, several times been imprisoned for uttering heretical opinions, and after a journey to Constance, where he had visited Hus, he was arrested near that town while on his way back to Bohemia and thrown into prison. His trial lasted some time, and he at one time—probably from physical fear—recanted those opinions which the Council considered to be heretical. He later again affirmed these opinions and was thereupon condemned to death and burnt (May 30, 1416).

The description of the trial and execution of Jerome given by the papal legate Poggio Bracciolini is well known; and is intensely interesting, as representing the views of an

Italian humanist,[1] who in spite of his official position could have had but little interest in the subtilities of the theological discussions of his age. Poggio Bracciolini tells us that "none of the Stoics with so constant and brave a soul endured death, which indeed he (Jerome) rather seemed to long for . . . Mutius did not allow his hand to be burnt with more brave a mind than this man his whole body. Socrates did not drink the poison as willingly as this man submitted himself to the flames."[2]

After Hus's departure from Bohemia, the movement against papacy in that country by no means declined, but rather assumed greater dimensions. Towards the end of the year 1414, one of the most prominent magisters of the University of Prague, Jacobellus of Stříbro, first publicly preached the doctrine that, according to Scripture, the sacrament should be received in both kinds by laymen as well as by priests. Jacobellus and his friends at this time also began to dispense communion in the two kinds. This was first done at Prague in the churches of St. Michael, St. Martin-in-the-Wall, and the Bethlehem chapel. This practice — concerning which Hus was consulted, and to which he gave his approval—soon became the characteristic article of faith to which all the friends of Church reform in Bohemia adhered. The chalice indeed became their emblem, and the nobles opposed to the Pope were known as the lords "sub utraque," whence was derived the word utraquist, which, till the suppression of religious freedom in Bohemia after the battle of the White Mountain (1620), designated one of the parties in the country.

[1] "The independence of mind with which this learned member of the papal curia (Poggio Bracciolini) dared to admire the heroism of . . . (Jerome) and proclaim him worthy of immortality is truly remarkable. But what was it he admired in him? Not the martyr, not the reformer—on the contrary, he asserts that if Jerome had indeed said anything against the Catholic faith he would have deserved his punishment. What he admired in him was the courage of a Cato or a Mutius Scaevola; he extolled his clear, sweet, and sonorous voice, the nobility of his gestures, so well adapted either to express indignation or excite compassion; the eloquence and learning with which at the foot of the pile he quoted Socrates, Anaxagoras, Plato, and the Fathers" (Prof. Villari, *Life of Machiavelli*).

[2] *Poggii Florentini de Hieronymi Heretici Supplicio Narratio Lionardo Aretino* (first [?] printed by Von der Hardt, *Magnum Concilium Oecumenicum*; then with the *Historia Bohemica* of Aeneas Sylvius in *Freherus Scriptores Rerum Bohemicarum*, and elsewhere).

It is almost unnecessary to state that when the news of the execution of Hus reached Bohemia the greatest excitement prevailed in the country. All the priests at Prague who were opposed to Hus and his teaching were expelled from their parishes, and in the country also the lords of the reform-party appointed Hussite priests to the livings that were in their gift, expelling the former Romanist occupants. Bishop John of Litomyšl, the most important among the adversaries of Hus, who was accused of having at the Council incited foreigners to hatred and contempt against his country, also severely felt the results of the national movement. His vast estates were forcibly seized by the neighbouring nobles, so that he was—as Palacký says—for the first time relieved from all cares with regard to temporal possessions.

King Venceslas showed great displeasure when he was informed of the death of Hus. Queen Sophia also made no secret of her indignation at the treacherous cruelty with which her confessor had been treated. The nobles and knights of Bohemia assembled without delay at Prague (September 2, 1415), to deliberate on the perilous situation of the country, and they were joined by a large number of Moravian nobles. The result of their deliberations was a protest against the execution of Hus couched in the strongest terms,[1] which was forwarded to the Council of Constance. It was immediately signed by ninety-nine nobles and knights, and was afterwards sent to many sympathizers who had not been able to be present, so that it finally bore the signatures or seals of four hundred and fifty-two lords and knights. In this protest the Bohemians declared that the Council had unjustly executed Hus, "a good, just and catholic man who consistently loathed all errors and heresies." They further complained that some traitors had unjustly accused the Bohemians of being heretics. This letter caused great indignation among the

[1] This document has often been printed under the name of *Protestatio Bohemorum*. The edition published by Dr. Löder, and printed at Leipzig in 1712, contains the notice that Dr. Löder had copied it at Oxford from an English manuscript entitled: "A true Copy of the Bohemian Protestation against the Council of Constance for burning of John Hus and Hieronymus Prage Contrare to their safe conduct they had given. Given to the university library of Oxfort, Dec. 2, 1695, by Mr. Anderson, Keeper of the publick Library at Edinburgk." I have retained Dr. Löder's spelling.

members of the Council, and their indignation became yet greater when the news reached Constance that most of the nobles and knights had, a few days after their first protest, united in a solemn covenant for mutual defence. They pledged themselves to defend the liberty of preaching the word of God on their estates; to accept no orders from the Council; to obey the future Pope and the bishops of Bohemia, but only should their commands not be in contradiction with the Scriptures; and in the meanwhile to recognize the University of Prague as the supreme authority in all matters of doctrine. They finally pledged themselves to act in common during the duration of the covenant which, it was agreed, was for the present to be of six years. King Venceslas himself was invited to join the covenant and to become its head; but he declined to do so, probably out of fear of his brother Sigismund. The lords who favoured the papal party, few in number, but among whom were some of the most powerful nobles, now also united in a league, and pledged themselves to continue obedient to the universal Church and to the Council.

The answer of the Council to the declaration of the nobles was a very firm one, and contained nothing conducive to appeasing the excited Bohemians. Jacobellus of Stříbro and the priests who shared his views, as well as the four hundred and fifty-two Bohemian knights and nobles who had signed the protest, were summoned to appear for judgment before the Council. It was with difficulty that King Sigismund prevented the Council from beginning proceedings for heresy against King Venceslas and his consort.[1]

These decrees were entirely ineffective as regards Bohemia: the greater part of that country having, for the time being, entirely renounced the allegiance of the Roman Church. Though the archbishop renewed the interdict over Prague, his own vicar-general, Herman, was induced by the supreme burgrave Čeněk, Lord of Wartenberg, to consecrate a number of new priests without previously requiring from them the promise that they would not distribute the sacrament

[1] The act of accusation against Queen Sophia, which had already been prepared, accused her of having confirmed Hus and other heretics in their obstinacy; of having treated the papal decrees with open contempt; and of having expelled the Romanist priests from her private estates, replacing them by Hussites.

both kinds to laymen—a promise always enacted by the Roman Church.

The University of Prague, accepting the important position the nobles had conferred on it, declared (1417) that communion in both kinds was necessary to the salvation of the soul, and it shortly afterwards proclaimed Hus a holy martyr for the faith of Christ, and decreed that July 6, the day of his martyrdom, should be consecrated to his memory.[1] The party of reform, which now had its centre in the university, favoured by the king and queen, and supported by the larger part of the nobility together with the great majority of the people, was in a very favourable position, particularly as for the present no immediate danger of foreign intervention was to be apprehended.

Unfortunately for Bohemia, differences of opinion soon began to spring up among those who supported the cause of Church reform. A considerable party gradually formed itself in Bohemia, which, in direct antagonism to the University of Prague (now the recognized theological centre of the country), professed doctrines that went far beyond anything the earlier reformers had asserted. This advanced party rejected the mass and all the sacraments, except baptism and communion, the doctrine of the existence of purgatory, and many of the rules and regulations of the Church. Its adherents maintained that the Holy Bible was the sole authority in all matters of religious belief. This party—destined afterwards to become celebrated under the name of the Taborites—had its centre in the little town of Austi or Usti on the river Lužnic, near the spot where the town of Tabor was soon to arise. The University of Prague from the first opposed the tenets of these more advanced reformers, and several times (1417 and 1418) issued decrees informing the faithful that the Christian doctrine was contained, not only in the Bible, but also in the traditions of the Church, which were only to be rejected when manifestly in contradiction to Scripture. These differences gradually became more accentuated, and the dissentient parties received

[1] In the earliest printed Bohemian almanacks, some of which are preserved in the National Museum at Prague, the 6th of July is called the Day of Commemoration of Master John Hus. It was long kept as a holiday, and in 1592 the Roman Catholic Abbot of Emaus (at Prague) was attacked by the people and threatened with death because he had let some of his labourers work in his vineyards on the 6th of July.

separate denominations; the moderate, or, as Palacký calls it, the aristocratic party, becoming known as the Calixtines or Praguers, the town and university of Prague being their centre; while the more advanced or democratic party received the name of the Taborites, from that of the new town which was founded near Austi. These local denominations must, as Palacký tells us, not be taken too literally. Prague contained many Taborites, and Austi counted some supporters of the Calixtine party among its inhabitants.

The people of Bohemia had, by this time, so entirely dissociated itself from the doings of the Council of Constance, that—writing of Bohemia only—it is scarcely necessary to notice its further deliberations. The Council had successively deposed John XXIII, Gregory XII, and Benedict XIII, and elected Martin V, who became undisputed Pope. The question of Church reform, which the Council had at first undertaken to discuss, was entirely discarded, and the Council was soon (1418) closed by Pope Martin V.

Before leaving Constance the Pope confirmed all the former decrees of the Council against the Bohemians. He declared all those who still maintained the doctrines, which the Council had condemned, to be heretics. He further exhorted Sigismund to use his influence on his brother Venceslas, to compel him to extirpate heresy in his dominions, and he seems at this moment already to have meditated a crusade against Bohemia.

That country now found itself entirely isolated in Europe, while the larger part of it—for the Germans in Bohemia had always upheld the cause of Rome—was in antagonism with the whole Western world. The separation of Bohemia from Rome may be said to have lasted over two hundred years, though the position of the country became a different one after the rise of Protestantism in Germany.

Sigismund was not long in obeying the Pope's command. In the concluding year of the Council of Constance (1418) he addressed a letter, or rather a public manifesto—for it was widely circulated in Bohemia—to his brother, reminding him of his reiterated promises to allow no heresies in his dominions, in consequence of which promises Sigismund had prevented the intended excommunication of Venceslas. He further warned him of the severe measures and the crusade which were under contemplation to reduce Bohemia to the papal authority; and ended by declaring that should

Venceslas not endeavour to extirpate in his kingdom all opinions contrary to Rome, he would no longer consider him as his brother.

It would have required a firmer mind than that of Venceslas not to have been greatly agitated by the menaces contained in this letter of his younger brother. His position appeared to him a hopeless one should he have to encounter the whole force of Europe in a crusade (a word that only lost its terror during the subsequent Hussite wars), for not only did his rule extend over a comparatively limited territory, but it was further weakened by the German element in the towns, which always furthered foreign intervention, and by the seditious attitude of the extreme adversaries of papacy.

It is, therefore, perhaps not surprising that Venceslas decided to comply with the wishes of his younger brother, and to attempt, as far as lay in his power, to restrain the anti-papal movement in Bohemia. He issued a decree ordaining that all priests, both in Prague and in the country, who had been expelled from their parishes because they refused to administer the sacrament in both kinds, should be allowed to return and resume their functions. This measure, as was inevitable in consequence of the excited condition of Bohemia, caused great disorder. Venceslas had, however, permitted that the use of three churches in the city of Prague should be granted to those who received the communion in both kinds, and the inhabitants of the country districts, deserting the parish churches when they were again under the direction of the papal clergy, assembled on the hills or in other secluded spots, to which they gave biblical names, such as Tabor, Oreb, the Mount of Olives, and others. Here the religious services were held in the Bohemian language, and communion administered in both kinds by the Hussite priests.

The fact that religious service, according to the rites then accepted by a large majority of the inhabitants of Prague, was limited to three churches in the town, appeared unfair to the townsmen, and Nicholas of Hus,[1] one of the courtiers of King Venceslas, but a firm adherent of the Calixtine party, became their leader. When Nicholas was marching through the streets of Prague at the head of a band

[1] The similarity of names led many of the older writers on Bohemian history to the quite erroneous supposition that he was a relation of John Hus.

of Calixtines, he accidentally met the king, to whom he addressed an earnest petition entreating him to cause a larger number of churches to be allotted to those who communicated in both kinds. Venceslas was very indignant at this attempt to extort concessions from him, and ordered Nicholas of Hus to leave Prague.

Nicholas retired to Austi, where a large number of the more advanced Church-reformers and many priests, who had been driven from their parishes by the decree of Venceslas, flocked to him. On a hill near Austi, probably on the site of the present town of Tabor, a large assembly took place (July 22, 1419), at which more than 42,000 people, men and women and children from all parts of Bohemia, and even from Moravia, were present. Even Roman Catholic writers describe this first great meeting of the Taborites as a most imposing event. From all directions bands of Taborites marched to the trysting-place, priests carrying the sacrament heading the procession. They were enthusiastically received by those already assembled on the hill, and welcomed as "brothers" and "sisters." The whole day was spent in prayers, in confession and communion, the strictest order being maintained. There is, however, little doubt that Nicholas of Hus availed himself of this opportunity to deliberate with the leaders of the assembled multitude as to the steps they were to take to defend their faith against the authorities at Prague. It is certain that at the court of Venceslas the design of seizing the Bohemian crown with the aid of the more advanced religious reformers was seriously attributed to Nicholas of Hus.

Trouble nearer home was destined to put an end to the life of King Venceslas before the plans of Nicholas had arrived at any sort of maturity. On July 30, 1419, when a procession of Calixtines, led by the priest John of Želivo who (as had now become the custom) carried the holy Sacrament, marched through the streets of Prague, a stone was thrown at priest John from one of the windows of the town-hall of the Nové Město (new town). The exasperated people, led by one of the king's courtiers, John Žižka of Trocnov, stormed the town-hall, and the burgomaster and several of the town-councillors were thrown from the windows, those of them who survived the fall being killed by the crowd in the market-place below.

As we here first meet with John Žižka of Trocnov, to whom it was undoubtedly due that the Hussite movement did not collapse at once, and that Bohemia was enabled to resist the whole of Europe in arms against her, it will be well shortly to notice the early life of the great warrior.[1]

John Žižka was born about the year 1378, probably at Trocnov, a small estate in Southern Bohemia, which was the seat of his family. Hardly anything is known of his early youth except that he was engaged in hereditary feuds with the Lords of Rosenberg, then the most powerful nobles in Southern Bohemia. About the year 1412 he became attached to the royal court, in all probability as chamberlain of Queen Sophia; he had at that time already lost the use of one eye, probably fighting for the king against the Bohemian nobles, in one of the many contests which occupied so large a part of the earlier years of the reign of King Venceslas. Žižka only followed the example of the great majority of the courtiers of Venceslas in joining the party of reform, of which he immediately became (and continued to be until his death) a thorough and disinterested supporter. His previous knowledge and experience of warfare at once designated him as the natural leader of a party which was directed by priests, and which consisted mostly of peasants, small landowners, and townsmen, entirely unused to the system of warfare that was practised in those days.

Žižka, who undoubtedly was the greatest military genius of his age,[2] immediately saw the difficulty of opposing his forces, consisting almost entirely of infantry, to the attack of heavily-armed horsemen. A flail mounted with iron, a club, or a short spear were the arms with which the peasants and citizens were in the habit of fighting, and with such men

[1] The standard authority regarding Žižka is now Professor Tomek, whose *Jan Žižka* was published (in Bohemian) in 1879. The learned professor has since published some additions to this biography in the *Časopis Musea Českeho* for 1892. The history of the great Bohemian warrior had formerly been completely obscured by legends and more or less absurd inventions. Palacký makes the interesting remark that, of those who wrote of Žižka before circumstances permitted serious study of the period of the Hussite wars, only George Sand, with singular intuition, grasped some of the traits of the character of Žižka in her short work entitled *Jean Zyska*, though her only authority was Lenfant's *Guerre des Hussites*.

[2] Palacký, with but slight exaggeration, calls him the originator of modern tactics.

and such weapons he was now to prepare to encounter the chivalry of Europe.

The hradba vozová (wagon-fort or lager of wagons),[1] if not absolutely Žižka's invention became, entirely through him, a serious feature in Bohemian warfare. From the scanty and contradictory accounts that have reached us it appears that the wagons or chariots of the Bohemian armies were linked together by strong iron chains, and were used not only for defence, but also for offensive movements. All the warriors, except the few horsemen as well as the women and children who accompanied the armies, found shelter in these wagons, which in time of battle were generally formed in four lines or columns. The wagons were covered with steel or iron—iron-clad, to use a modern term—and the best marksmen were placed next to the driver of each of them. In case of defeat, the wagons formed what was practically a fortified entrenchment. When an offensive movement was undertaken, the drivers of the wagons at one end of the line of battle attempted to outflank the enemy, and after Žižka's men had become accustomed to warfare, often succeeded in doing so. It may be noticed that the wide plains of Bohemia, which then—as now—were little intersected by ditches or fences, offered every advantage to this novel system of warfare. Žižka also seems to have given his attention to fire-arms, as the picked marksmen whom he placed next to the drivers of the wagons soon became the terror of the Germans, through the precision of their fire, whilst the few and unwieldy field-pieces which accompanied the Bohemian armies were yet far superior to anything the Germans and other enemies could then bring to battle against them. It cannot be denied that the success of Žižka, in creating out of a crowd of townsmen, small farmers, and farm-labourers an almost invincible army, at the head of which he defeated the bravest knights and warriors of Europe, is almost unique in history. It is perhaps fantastic to suggest some resemblance between Oliver

[1] Since writing the above I have had the opportunity of reading Mr. Hereford B. George's interesting work entitled, *Battles of English History*. I here find that at the "Battle of the Herrings" (1429) Sir John Fastolf, who commanded the English troops, "formed his wagons in square, within which extemporized fort his men stood on the defensive." Mr. George very truly remarks that "the lager, which is a feature now well known of African warfare, is the same thing in principle."

Cromwell and the one-eyed leader of the Bohemian people,[1] though Žižka's piety and simplicity, his sincerity for what he considered the welfare of his country, his unbending sternness towards those whom he considered as God's enemies, have a strong element of the Puritan about them.

It is certain that Žižka felt more keenly than most Bohemians the news of the death (or, as he no doubt regarded it, the murder) of Hus.[2] It is said that King Venceslas, noticing one day at court that Žižka seemed melancholy and absorbed in thought, asked him the cause of his depression. Žižka answered: "How can I be gay when our trusted leaders and the faithful teachers of the law of the Lord are, by the order of infidel priests, undeservedly and unjustly condemned to the flames?" The king answered: "Dear John, what can we say to that? Can we alter that? If you know of any way to do so, right it yourself. We shall be pleased." Žižka took the king at his word, and said with his permission he would do so.[3]

If this report as to his momentary feelings is correct—of which there is no doubt—Venceslas did not long remain in the same frame of mind. When the news of the défenestration of the burgomaster and of other officials of the new town of Prague reached the king at the neighbouring castle of Kunuratic, his fury was so great that he was seized with a slight apoplectic attack.

He now wrote to King Sigismund inviting him to come to Bohemia to aid him in maintaining the royal authority; but before his brother could arrive, a renewed fit of apoplexy put an end to the life of King Venceslas (August 16, 1419). Little need be said as to this Bohemian king. The uncertainty of purpose which was the most characteristic feature of his character is evident even from this slight notice of his life. His intentions were generally good, and he was by no means as devoid of intelligence as has often been stated by his detractors. In the last years of his life his

[1] When first writing this, I was quite unaware of the fact that the late Bishop Creighton had some time previously compared Žižka to Oliver Cromwell.

[2] The tale that Žižka, standing beneath the oak-tree under which he had been born, swore eternal vengeance to the murderers of Hus, is merely a legend. It has furnished the Austrian poet Lenau with the subject of one of the finest scenes of his *Bilder aus dem Hussitenkriege.*

[3] Tomek, *Jan Žižka.*

consort Queen Sophia acquired a very favourable influence over him.

It is certain that he oppressed Bohemia with taxation less than many other sovereigns, and therefore was popular with the people during his whole life.

The news of the death of the king caused renewed disturbances at Prague. The churches and convents which were in the hands of the Romanist clergy were attacked, and the priests and monks driven out of them. A great part of the higher clergy, and most of the German inhabitants, who were almost all opposed to the national or reform party, now fled from Prague. Disturbances also broke out in all the towns where the population was Bohemian, specially at Králove Hradec, Laun, and Pisek. These troubles rendered necessary the presence of Sigismund, over whose religious views great uncertainty at first prevailed. Nobles of both parties assembled at Prague, and begged King Sigismund, as heir to the throne, to proceed to Bohemia as soon as possible. A petition was also signed begging the king to grant to the Estates and to the people permission to continue to receive the communion in both kinds. The king was further requested to use his influence with the Pope to induce him to revoke the interdict, and to grant the Bohemians liberty to receive the sacrament in that manner in which their consciences required them to do so. Sigismund gave an evasive answer, merely saying that he would rule as did his father, Charles IV, whose memory he knew to be very popular in the land. His appointment of Queen Sophia as regent, and of Čeněk of Wartenberg as her first counsellor, were, however, considered conciliatory. Queen Sophia's Hussite sympathies were well known, whilst Čeněk was then considered a utraquist, though it is not easy to know what were the real opinions of a man who changed sides twice within a year. The nobles of the utraquist or Calixtine party were therefore for the present in favour of a peaceful policy, hoping that when Sigismund arrived in Bohemia he would see the necessity of tolerance towards a party to which the large majority of the nobles and knights belonged, as also the town population—with the exception of the Germanized citizens of some towns—and almost the whole of the peasantry.

The more advanced reformers judged the intentions of Sigismund differently, and, as events proved, more correctly.

The meetings of the adherents of the extreme party, the first of which, held near Austi, has already been mentioned, still continued; the movement soon spread all over Bohemia and parts of Moravia; and the endeavours even of the utraquist nobles to calm the people were ineffectual. These meetings took the place of the pilgrimages to which the Bohemian peasants had been accustomed, and they flocked to them from all parts of the country, deserting home and hearth. A sort of religious mania, which the contemporary writers ascribed to a peculiar collocation of the stars, seized on the people of Bohemia. It is, on the other hand, more than probable that Žižka of Trocnov, Nicholas of Hus, and the other leaders, who were already certain that they would shortly have to resist the armed forces of Sigismund, viewed with favour these meetings, which kept their men in touch with each other, and prevented their dispersing.

At a meeting held near Prague on the day of St. Venceslas (September 28), the Taborites decided to hold their next assembly in Prague itself, and fixed its date for November 10. Though the great mass of the enthusiasts this time also spent the days in prayers and devotion, there is little doubt that the leaders held a serious consultation, and on that day decided to obtain possession of Prague.

Queen Sophia was probably informed of their intentions. She obtained aid from several of the utraquist lords, and also assembled a large body of German mercenaries. Doubtless, in consequence of the arrival of these mercenaries, the people of Prague rose up in arms (October 25) and obtained possession of the old castle on the Vyšehrad, the most ancient seat of the Bohemian sovereigns, possibly with the connivance of the soldiers of the former bodyguard of King Venceslas, who were quartered there. Meanwhile, some days before November 10, armed bands of Taborites began to arrive in Prague from every direction. The citizens of Prague, encouraged by their first success and by the arrival of the Taborites, now led by Žižka and Nicholas of Hus, began further hostilities against the troops of Queen Sophia. They attacked the quarter known as the "Malá Strana," near which the royal palace of the Hradčany is situated. The attacking party were received with discharges of artillery, then still a great novelty in Bohemia, and very bloody street-fighting ensued (November 4, 1419). "It was a night of fear and terror, sorrow and lamentation,

only to be compared to the day of the last judgment."[1] The citizens of Prague were, on the whole, successful, but they failed to obtain possession of the royal castle of the Hradčany, from which, when it was first attacked, Queen Sophia had fled. The situation of the town, however, remained a perilous one. Čeněk of Wartenberg, who in the absence of Queen Sophia had assumed the entire government of the country, requested and received aid from numerous knights and nobles, and the German towns of Bohemia also sent large forces to his aid.

A large part of the "small quarter" of Prague, and many buildings in other parts of the town, had been burnt down, and the citizens were anxious to obtain at least temporary tranquillity. An armistice was therefore concluded (November 13, 1419) without much difficulty. The utraquist nobles promised to unite with the Praguers in defending the right of communion in both kinds, while the Praguers again gave up the castle of Vyšehrad to Queen Sophia. Žižka, who disapproved even of this temporary compromise, left Prague with his followers and marched to Pilsen, where at that time a considerable part of the population was in favour of the Taborite cause.

On hearing of the disturbances in Bohemia King Sigismund, who was then in Hungary, abandoned his intended campaign against the Turks, and hastened to Moravia. Shortly after his arrival at Brno (December 1419) Queen Sophia met him there, together with many nobles—both of the utraquist and of the Romanist party—and envoys of the town of Prague. King Sigismund again gave evasive answers to the many questions as to his religious policy which were addressed to him. He declared that he reserved his decision till he should have arrived at Prague. He requested the lords of the utraquist party to refrain meanwhile from all attempts to coerce those of their dependents who were of the Romanist party. He also requested the envoys of the town of Prague to cause all the street fortifications which had been erected there during the recent disturbances to be removed. Queen Sophia now resigned the functions of regent, which she had only exercised during the last few troublous months, and King Sigismund, for the present, entrusted Čeněk of Wartenberg with the government of Bohemia.

[1] Palacký, quoting from a contemporary writer.

King Sigismund did not, as had been expected, immediately repair to Prague, where he should have been crowned as king, according to the institutions of the country, but travelled to Silesia (about January 1420). There is little doubt that he did not wish to enter Bohemia before he had collected sufficient forces to become absolute master of the land, and thus be able to rule it according to the Pope's desire, suppressing all opinions and practices contrary to the doctrines of Rome.

Quiet returned to Prague for the moment. The fortifications and barricades were removed, and many Germans and other adherents of Rome returned to the city. That party, relying on the support of Sigismund, now assumed a more aggressive attitude, and began to persecute its opponents. In several towns the utraquists were attacked, but the miners of Kutna Hora, mostly Germans and fanatical adherents of Rome, surpassed all others in cruelty. They seized all utraquists in and near the town, and threw them alive into one of the deepest shafts of the silver mines, which in mockery they called Tabor. We are told that their leaders had at first caused the utraquists to be decapitated, but that the executioners refused to continue their work, so numerous were those who were condemned to death. In the course of a few months about 1600 prisoners were thrown into the pit of Kutna Hora.

Meanwhile Žižka, who had disapproved of the truce which the Praguers had concluded with King Sigismund, had marched to Plzeň,[1] which town he seems at first to have intended to make the stronghold of his party. In the southern parts of Bohemia some of Žižka's adherents, led by a bell-founder named Hromadka, had surprised and stormed the small town of Austi (February 21, 1420). Not finding the situation of the town sufficiently strong, they removed to a position about an hour from Austi, where a castle named Hradiště was situated in a very commanding position. They immediately began to fortify the land round this castle, and a town quickly sprung up to which they gave the biblical name of Tabor. Hromadka informed Žižka of this, asking him to send aid to Tabor, as he expected shortly to be attacked. Žižka willingly consented, perhaps already intending to make the new town the stronghold of his party. His position at Pilsen had become critical; he

[1] In German "Pilsen."

was besieged by a large army of the adherents of King Sigismund, while the Romanist inhabitants of the town were strongly hostile, and even his own soldiers were losing confidence. Žižka was therefore glad to be able to come to terms with Venceslas of Duba, the commander of the besieging forces. A treaty was concluded through the intervention of the citizens of Prague, by which Žižka surrendered Pilsen on condition that the right of receiving the communion in both kinds should be retained in the town, and that he and his followers should be allowed to march to Tabor without hindrance. The Roman Catholic inhabitants alone remained in the town, and Pilsen henceforth became the great stronghold of the papal party in Bohemia.

Žižka set out for Tabor with only four hundred warriors, twelve equipped wagons, and nine horsemen. A large number of women and children accompanied the expedition. On their way they were attacked, near the village of Sudoměř, by Catholic bands who were marching to reinforce the army before Pilsen, and who did not consider themselves bound by the truce concluded with Žižka. The enemies consisted of two thousand horsemen, all wearing heavy armour, and who were consequently known as the "iron men." Žižka, as soon as he saw that there was no hope of evading the unequal combat, drew up his little army near one of the fish-ponds that are very numerous in that part of Bohemia, in a position in which one of his flanks was protected by a steep dyke. The war-chariots were drawn up in a line that faced the foe, and the enemy were obliged to dismount to attack Žižka's position. He is said to have ordered the Taborite women to spread out their long veils on the ground, hoping that the heavy spurs of the enemy's dismounted horsemen would catch in them. The Taborites defended themselves with desperate courage, and though a few were made prisoners, they succeeded in beating off the attacking forces. The skirmish, which was very bloody, lasted till sunset, when the Catholics retired. Darkness set in earlier than usual at that time of the year, and the pious Taborites thought that God had ordained this for their protection. The skirmish at Sudoměř (March 25, 1420) was the first fight in the open field during the Hussite wars, and it established Žižka's reputation as a leader. Žižka and his band encamped on the battle-field

in sign of victory, and continued their march next day without further attack. When they arrived near Tabor they were met by a large number of "brethren" who were marching to their aid, and these conducted Žižka into the new stronghold with great honours and rejoicings.[1]

Tabor now became the stronghold and centre of all those who most energetically opposed the government of King Sigismund. Townsmen, peasants, and even nobles from all parts of Bohemia flocked to the new town, in which no differences of rank were recognized, and, following the example of the primitive Christians, all were "brothers and sisters." All the advanced opponents of Rome among the clergy also assembled at Tabor, where, besides establishing communion in both kinds, they organized religious services which in many ways differed from the customs of the Church of Rome. All vestments were prohibited, the priests officiating in ordinary clothes. The use of Latin in Church services was also abolished, and was replaced by the Bohemian language.

The accounts we possess as to the internal constitution of the community of Tabor are unfortunately both insufficient and contradictory. The organization was undoubtedly a military one, and almost immediately after Žižka's arrival at Tabor four captains ("heytmane" in Bohemian) were chosen, of whom he, of course, was one. We also find the name of Nicholas of Hus among the first captains of the Taborites. Besides the military leaders, the most prominent and popular among the clergy exercised a great, though ill-defined, influence over the community of Tabor.

Žižka, immediately after his arrival at Tabor, undertook a thorough military organization of his followers, most of whom had no previous military training, and were merely religious enthusiasts. From among them he soon formed an almost invincible army. Several small but invariably successful raids against the neighbouring lords of the Catholic party soon gave them greater self-confidence.

Žižka had indeed no time to lose if he hoped successfully

[1] I am principally indebted for these notes on the foundation of Tabor and the skirmish of Sudoměř to Professor Tomek's *Life of Žižka*, the most graphic and accurate account of the campaigns of the great Hussite leader. I much regret that want of space will not allow me to borrow more largely from this interesting work, written in what is in Western Europe practically an "unknown tongue."

to resist the onslaught of King Sigismund. In accordance with the king, Pope Martin V had, on March 1, 1420, proclaimed a crusade against Bohemia, calling the whole Christian world to arms against that nation, and promising the usual indulgences. A great number of German princes joined Sigismund at Breslau to concert as to the coming campaign, and volunteers from almost every country of Europe rallied round the standard of the cross.

When the news of the intended crusade reached Bohemia indignation was general. For a time even the most moderate utraquists were prepared to resist the attacks of King Sigismund. The terms of crusade, which, it was said, should only have been employed in warfare against pagans or Mahomedans, and which stigmatized the whole country as heretical, incensed every Bohemian against Sigismund, to whose influence the decree was attributed. The highest official of the land, Čeněk of Wartenberg, had been present at the deliberations of Breslau, but now thoroughly aware of the feelings of the court of Sigismund, he decided "as a Bohemian and a Hussite" to throw in his cause with that of his country. He concluded an alliance with the Praguers, and issued a proclamation to the country in the name of the whole utraquist nobility. This document warned all Bohemians and Moravians against obeying any orders of Sigismund, King of Germany and Hungary, who was the enemy of the Bohemian nation, and who had not been crowned king (of Bohemia).

The consequences of this proclamation probably went far beyond the expectations of Wartenberg. The whole people of Bohemia rose in arms, and in many places vented their rage on the papal clergy. Large numbers of churches and convents in all parts of Bohemia were plundered and burnt, and in retribution of the cruelties of the Catholics at Kutna Hora and elsewhere, several Catholic priests and monks suffered the same death as Hus.

Sigismund, whose allies were slowly moving onward from all countries, had meanwhile entered Bohemia from Silesia, and captured the town of Králove Hradec without much resistance. From there he marched to Kutna Hora, where the German inhabitants had already proved themselves zealous adherents of the papal cause.

The cruelties practised on Catholic priests, and the barbarous destruction of churches and convents, which

contained most of the finest art treasures of Bohemia, caused great displeasure to the more moderate opponents of the papal cause. When Sigismund, therefore, sent envoys to Prague to treat for a truce in view of a pacification of the country, he found a willing hearing with Čeněk of Wartenberg. Čeněk, deserting the party he had so recently joined, concluded a private, and at first secret, treaty with the king. On the conditions of an amnesty for himself and for his children, and the guarantee of freedom to all the tenants on his estates to continue to receive communion in both kinds, he abandoned the cause of the Praguers, and even admitted the king's troops into the royal castle on the Hradčany. The first result of this step was a renewal of the street-fighting at Prague, as the citizens attempted to storm the castle, but were repulsed by the troops of Čeněk. An attack the Praguers made on the Vyšehrad castle was also repulsed by the garrison which held it for King Sigismund. During these repeated struggles in the streets a large part of the "small quarter" (Malá Strana) of Prague, and of that part of the "new town" which lies at the foot of the Vyšehrad were burnt.

These events inspired the citizens with a desire for peace, and they decided to send envoys to Sigismund. The king, who was then at Kutna Hora in the midst of a population entirely devoted to the papal cause, not improbably, judging the general feeling by his immediate surroundings, over-rated the strength of that party. He received the deputies of Prague very haughtily, and again ordered them to remove all the street barricades, and to deliver up all their arms to his troops in the castles of Hradčany and Vyšehrad. It was only after every show of resistance had ceased that the king was prepared to let the citizens know what degree of mercy would be shown them.

This demand of unconditional surrender could not even be considered by the envoys of Prague, who were indeed among the most moderate adherents of the utraquist party, but who had at home to fear the opposition of a large part of the townsmen, headed by many of the priests, and these had from the first declared all hopes of an agreement with Sigismund to be futile. War to death became the watchword, and the Praguers applied for aid to all the nobles and towns who had not already submitted to Sigismund. Their most important decision, however, was to sink all difference

of opinion in view of the common enemy, and to seek for help from Tabor. Messengers were sent from Prague to Tabor entreating the Taborites, "if they wished verily to obey the law of God, to march to their aid without delay, and with the largest force they could muster."

At Tabor, thanks to Žižka's foresight, every one was ready. Probably on the very day the message arrived, 9000 warriors, accompanied by a large number of priests, women, and children, set forth and soon arrived at Prague after they had defeated some of the royal troops, who, at Poric on the River Sazava, had attempted to intercept their passage. Almost at the same time a thousand horsemen, led by the utraquist knights Bradatý and Obrovec, also came to aid in the defence of the menaced capital.

Sigismund had at first intended to march immediately from Kuttenberg to Prague, where the castles of Hradčany and Vyšehrad were still in the hands of his adherents. Probably informed of the strength of the forces now assembling in the town, he changed his intentions and decided to await the arrival of the whole force of the crusaders. By the end of June (1420) most of them had arrived in Bohemia. They were led by the Elector Palatine, the Archbishop-Electors of Maintz, Trier, and Cologne, Frederick of Hohenzollern (who had just become Elector of Brandenburg, which Sigismund had mortgaged to him), Duke Albert of Austria, Sigismund's son-in-law, and other German princes. The crusaders comprised men of almost every country in Europe,[1] and their number is estimated between 100,000 and 150,000. If we believe Aenaeas Sylvius, the horsemen alone were 70,000 in number; in that case the higher figure probably more exactly indicates the full strength of the crusading army.

On June 30, 1420, Sigismund entered the castle of Prague, on the Hradčany, and the enormous forces of the crusaders encamped round the town. Žižka had before their arrival occupied and fortified the steep hill to the east

[1] The contemporary chronicler, Lawrence of Brežova, not without pride names among those who then attacked his country: Bohemians (of course Romanists), Moravians, Hungarians and Croatians, Dalmatians and Bulgarians, Wallachians and Sicilians, Cini (*sic*) and Jasi (*sic*) Slavonians, Servians, Ruthenians, Styrians, men of Meisens, Bavarians, Saxons, Austrians, Franks, Frenchmen, Englishmen, men of Brabant, Westphalians, Dutchmen, Switzers, Lusatians, Suabians, Carinthians, men of Aragon, Spaniards, Poles, Germans from the Rhine, and many others.

of Prague, then known as the Vitkov, but which since those times, and up to the present day, bears the name of Žižka's Hill. The invaders did not immediately begin their attack, and it was only on July 14 that Sigismund made a determined attempt on Prague. The attack was made in three directions: from the castles on the Hradčany and on the Vyšehrad, the districts of the town nearest to those castles—the Malá Strana and the Nové Město—were attacked, while a third attack was made on the Vitkov hill, the key of the position of the defenders, who depended on its possession for maintaining their communications with the country. This hill was defended by Žižka and his Taborites, who resisted the attack of the Germans [1] with desperate courage. Even the Taborite women assisted in the defence of the very primitive fortifications Žižka had hastily erected. When the Taborites were for a time driven back, one of these women refused to retreat, saying that a true Christian should never give way to Antichrist, whereupon she was immediately killed by the Germans. The bravery of Žižka, who himself fought in the front rank, at last drove the Germans down the hill. Great numbers of them were killed or driven into the river Vltava by the Bohemians who pursued them.

Žižka did not himself think that his victory would prove decisive, for he immediately began to strengthen the fortifications which had hurriedly been erected on the spot formerly known as the Vitkov, but which since that great victory has been called Žižka's Hill.

Fortunately for the Bohemians, dissensions had broken out among their enemies. The Germans strongly distrusted the Bohemian troops of Sigismund. The utraquist lords in the king's army, on the other hand, felt some sympathy for the defenders of Prague, and were indignant against the Germans, who, thwarted in their attempt on Prague, scoured all the neighbouring country, burning as heretics all Bohemians, without distinction, whom they could seize.

The utraquist lords, therefore, attempted to mediate between the king and the citizens of Prague, with whom they thought an agreement more feasible than with the fanatical Taborites. The Praguers, however, refused to enter into separate negotiations. It was therefore decided

[1] They were horsemen from Meissen and Thuringia, about 9000 in number.

that an instrument should be drawn up, formulating every point on which all Bohemians who adhered to the communion in both kinds agreed. Deliberations took place between the Praguers, the Taborites, and the other defenders of Prague.

The principal points of the belief of the utraquists of all shades, the recognition of which they considered an indispensable preliminary to all negotiations for peace, were expressed by the theologians of the University of Prague in four articles.[1]

These articles, as Palacký says, openly proclaimed the opinions of the Bohemian nation, and became the basis of all subsequent attempts of reconciliation between Bohemia and the Western Church. They became widely known under the name of the Articles of Prague. The articles declared—

I. The word of God shall in the Kingdom of Bohemia be freely and without impediment proclaimed and preached by Christian priests.

II. The sacrament of the body and blood of God shall in the two kinds, that is in bread and wine, be freely administered to all faithful Christians according to the order and teaching of our Saviour.

III. The priests and monks, according to secular law, possess great worldly wealth in opposition to the teaching of Christ. Of this wealth they shall be deprived.

IV. All mortal sins, particularly those that are public, as well as all disorders opposed to God's law, shall in all classes be suppressed by those whose office it is to do so. All evil and untruthful rumours[2] shall be suppressed for the good of the commonwealth, the kingdom, and the nation.

These articles were undeniably in accord with the wants of the age and formed the basis of a possible agreement. The utraquist nobles who, though they were on the king's side, yet warmly approved of the four articles, unsuccessfully attempted to obtain their acceptance by the papal legate.

[1] It is probable that deliberation on this subject took place some time before, and that a draft of the articles had been made as early as in 1417 (see my *Life and Times of Master John Hus*, pp. 343–344).

[2] This principally referred to the statement frequently made by the Germans that Bohemia was a heretical country.

The dissensions in Sigismund's camp became intensified by the failure of the negotiations. Open warfare between the so-called allies seemed more than probable. Sigismund therefore decided to abandon the siege of Prague, and to dismiss his German allies, whose arrival—in consequence of the old hatred between the two races—had had as principal result the diminution of the already scanty number of the king's adherents in Bohemia. Before leaving Prague, Sigismund caused himself to be crowned King of Bohemia in the cathedral of St. Vitus.[1] The ceremony of the coronation of their kings has, with the Bohemians, as with the Hungarians, always been surrounded by a peculiar sanctity; by submitting to it, Sigismund hoped to strengthen his claim to the Bohemian throne. It was, however, noticed that neither representatives of the towns of Prague nor the holders of many of the great offices of state were present.

On August 2, 1420, the king left the neighbourhood of Prague and retired to Kuttenberg. The crusaders dispersed to their various countries.

CHAPTER VI

FROM THE CORONATION OF KING SIGISMUND TO THE DEATH OF KING LOUIS AT MOHÁČ (1420–1526)

THE skirmish at Sudoměř and the battle at Žižka's Hill mark the beginning of the Hussite wars.

The period from the battle on Žižka's Hill (1420) to that at Lipany (1434), which decided the fate of the Taborite party, is the most eventful one in Bohemian history. The renewed crusades against Bohemia; incessant local warfare between the utraquist nobles and townsfolk, and those who were on the side of Rome; occasional warfare among the utraquists themselves, when the Taborites and Praguers fell out with each other; the rise and fall of Tabor; the temporary hegemony of the city of Prague over a large part of Bohemia; the attempt to re-establish monarchy under a Polish dynasty, are only some of the events and movements crowded into these few years. The intellectual activity of the people (manifested where, under the given conditions, it could alone manifest itself, namely in the field of theolo-

1 The cathedral is situated close to the castle on the Hradčin, which was held by the royal forces.

gical controversy) was also unparalleled in the history of the country. The theological disputations between the papal, the Calixtine, and the Taborite ecclesiastics were constantly renewed, and, as was inevitable in a country so thoroughly absorbed in religious controversy, fanatical and grotesque doctrines often came to the surface. We read of preachers who asserted that the millennium had already begun, and of the Adamite enthusiasts, whom Žižka almost immediately suppressed, and whose importance has been most unduly exaggerated by Aenaeas Sylvius and other adherents of the papal cause. It is much to be regretted that—as Palacký, the great Bohemian historian, tells us—contemporary records for these years are scarcer than almost for any other period.

King Sigismund left Prague in a state of the most violent irritation against the Bohemian nation. He attempted to organize the adherents of Rome by appointing certain of the most prominent nobles who belonged to that party leaders or commanders of each district of the country, instructing them to maintain peace and extirpate heresy.

This measure, which, as the greatest part of the land was in arms against the king, was of little practical importance, only tended to increase the animosity of the Bohemians against Sigismund. The Praguers, even before the king had raised the siege of their town, had decreed very severe measures against the priests and Germans who had left the city before the siege. All their property was confiscated for the benefit of the town. The once very strong German element in Prague was for the time completely annihilated. Dissensions had at this moment already broken out between the citizens of Prague and their Taborite allies, whose fanaticism in destroying churches and convents caused great exasperation. Žižka and his followers therefore left Prague and marched to Southern Bohemia, where in a campaign, for which want of space makes any lengthier mention impossible, they defeated several of the papal lords who still maintained the cause of King Sigismund. The Praguers, meanwhile, continued the siege of the Vyšehrad, the occupation of which by King Sigismund's troops was a permanent menace to their town. Sigismund, hearing that the garrison was sorely pressed, marched to its relief with an army of 20,000 men, the greater part of whom were Hungarians. Many of the

utraquist lords, exasperated by Sigismund's decision to employ German and Hungarian soldiers against his Bohemian subjects, now joined the national cause, and one of them, Hynek Krušina, Lord of Lichtenburg, became the commander of the Bohemian forces.

A very sanguinary encounter took place in the valley which is situated at the foot of the Vyšehrad on All Saints' Day (November 1, 1420). Several lords, seeing that the men of Prague were well entrenched, advised the king not to disturb them, as his troops might suffer severe losses, but the king said: "I must fight with these peasants to-day." The Praguers at first wavered, when Lord Hynek called out with a loud voice: "Dear brethren, do not turn back, but be to-day brave knights in Christ's battle; for it is God's, not our fight, we are fighting to-day. Be certain that the Almighty God will deliver all His and your enemies into your hands to-day." Before he had finished his speech the cry arose: "The enemy is flying." [1]

King Sigismund's troops were decisively defeated, and the losses, particularly among the Bohemian and Moravian warriors, who still sided with him were very great. The king was said to have exposed them more than his other troops.

The patriots deeply mourned the fate of their countrymen. Though they had adhered to the feudal system which had obliged them to war for their liege-lord King Sigismund, the dead men had belonged to the national utraquist Church, and those who had not immediately succumbed to their wounds had, before dying, received communion in the two kinds. The contemporary chronicler Laurence of Březova thus describes the mournful aspect of the battle-field: "What man, who was not more cruel than a pagan, could pass through these fields and vineyards and view the brave bodies of the dead without compassion? What Bohemian, unless he were a madman, could see these dainty and robust warriors, these men so curly-haired and so comely without deeply bewailing their fate?" The castle of the Vyšehrad surrendered to the Praguers immediately after the battle.

The intense animosity caused by the policy of King Sigismund had led a considerable party in Bohemia to plan his deposition, and to meditate on the choice of another sovereign. Those among the utraquist nobility who had

[1] Palacký, quoting a contemporary chronicler.

abandoned all hope of securing from Sigismund toleration for their faith, as well as the men of Prague, favoured this project, which, on the other hand—probably through the influence of Nicholas of Hus—was opposed by most of the Taborites. Žižka, however, in this matter disagreed with the larger number of his party. It was decided to offer the Bohemian crown to Vladislav, King of Poland, under the sole condition of his accepting the Articles of Prague, and promising to defend them. This declaration was signed by many of the utraquist nobles, the magistrates of the town of Prague, and of those towns that accepted its direction, and by Žižka alone on the part of the Taborites. Nicholas of Hus, who most violently opposed the choice of a foreign king, died by a fall from his horse towards the end of the year (1420).

Though he had been one of the earliest leaders of the party of reform, there is no doubt that the death of Nicholas of Hus at this moment was advantageous to his cause, for it made Žižka uncontested leader of the more advanced or Taborite party; and as he was then inclined to act in agreement with the Praguers and the utraquist nobles, it prevented, at least for the moment, a split among the Bohemians opposed to Rome.

In the early part of the year 1421, Žižka's troops and the Praguers completely subdued Western Bohemia, where Sigismund's authority entirely ceased. Even the city of Pilsen concluded a truce, during which the citizens were obliged to tolerate worship according to the Articles of Prague in their town and its territory. The united utraquist forces now attacked Kutna Hora, which was still in the hands of the adherents of Sigismund, though the king had left Bohemia early in the year (February 1421). This town was more odious to the utraquists than any other, because of the cruelties its inhabitants had committed. The citizens were soon obliged to surrender and to do public penance, but the utraquists sought no further revenge, an almost unique occurrence on the part of either of the opponents during the Hussite wars. After the fall of Kutna Hora many other towns and castles surrendered, and many of the utraquist nobles, abandoning Sigismund, joined what had by this time become the national cause throughout the land. Among these nobles was Čeněk of Wartenberg, who now again renounced the allegiance of King Sigismund.

It was still a greater blow to the papal party that about this time the Archbishop of Prague, Conrad of Vechta, "to the surprise and horror of all Christendom," solemnly announced his acceptation of the Articles of Prague (1421). On the other hand, the strength of the utraquist party was weakened by the attitude of the Taborites, whose distrust of the more moderate reformers was increased by the fact that that party had now been joined by the most eminent prelates of the Church of Rome. The University of Prague attempted to mediate between the different factions of the reform party, and numerous disputations between the rival divines took place, in which even the minutest questions of dogma and ritual were discussed with the utmost thoroughness and obstinacy.

Having subdued nearly all Bohemia, the utraquists were preparing to invade Moravia, when envoys from that country, in which utraquism had many adherents, arrived and sued for peace. It was agreed that the Estates of both countries should assemble at Caslav. This Diet began its session on June 1, 1421, and included the Archbishop of Prague, the Lords Čeněk of Wartenberg, Krušina of Lichtenburg, Victorin of Poděbrad (father of the future King George), the supreme magistrates of Prague, John Žižka and other leaders of Tabor, as well as representatives of the papal party. The contemporary records of the assembly at Časlav are both vague and contradictory. It seems, however, certain that the Articles of Prague were almost unanimously confirmed, and that King Sigismund was declared to be deposed, though not without some opposition, especially on the part of the Moravian nobles. It was further decided that, pending the negotiations with Poland—though this reason was not specially stated—twenty regents should be elected. Of these, five were to be chosen from among the nobles, four from the citizens of Prague, two from the community of Tabor, five from among the knighthood, and two from the other Bohemian towns (*i. e.* with the exceptions of Prague and Tabor). This scheme undoubtedly organized a coalition government—to use a modern phrase—on the broadest base, and even this attempt at compromise is a proof of the comparative political maturity of the Bohemians of that period. Among the new regents we find Ulrich of Rosenberg, head of the papal lords, Čeněk of Wartenberg, Krušina of Lichtenburg, and John Žižka.

About this time the castle of Prague on the Hradčany Hill surrendered. Sigismund's influence disappeared in Prague; but Bohemia was still menaced both by internal disturbances and by foreign foes. New religious troubles broke out in Prague, caused by the fanatical monk John of Želivo, and at Tabor public order was disturbed by the violence of fanatics.

Žižka soon quelled these disturbances in the barbarous fashion common to all religious parties at that period. He caused about fifty enthusiasts, men and women, to be burnt for denying the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar. They met their fate bravely. "Gaily laughing, they walked into the flames, boasting that they would that very day take their meal with Christ in heaven."[1]

Žižka's commanding influence at Tabor restored order in the town, and he was soon free to continue the war against the adherents of the papal cause who still held isolated castles in many parts of Bohemia. In besieging one of these castles, Rábi, which belonged to the Romanist Lord of Riesenburg, Žižka was severely wounded in the eye by an arrow. His life was for some time in danger, and though the doctors of Prague, to which town he was immediately carried, succeeded in saving his life, he now became totally blind.

Local warfare between the Germans and Bohemians had, meanwhile, continued uninterruptedly both on the Saxon and on the Silesian frontiers, but a more serious danger now menaced Bohemia. As early as the month of April (1421) the German princes decided to undertake a new crusade against Bohemia, and Sigismund, though detained in Hungary by the hostile attitude of Turkey and Venice,

[1] Palacký. Some of these fanatics escaped from Tabor before Žižka had returned there from Časlav, and settled in an island in the little river Nežarka. Here they formed a separate community under the leadership of a peasant named Nicolas, whom they called Adam. According to the not very reliable report of Aenaeas Sylvius (*Historia Bohemica*, chap. xli), this leader "filium Dei se dixit et Adam vocari." Aenaeas further tells us "connubia eis promiscua fuere, nefas tamen injussu Adami mulierem cognoscere. Sed ut quis libidine incensus in aliquam exarsit eam manu prehendit et adiens principem 'in hanc' inquit, 'spiritus meus concaluit.' Cui princeps respondit, 'ite crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram.'" These fanatics were exterminated by Žižka after a few months (Oct. 1421). This quite isolated occurrence has from the first been greatly magnified and exaggerated by writers hostile to the Hussite movement.

approved of their plans, and promised his aid. To give Sigismund time to return to Bohemia, it was decided that the crusaders should assemble on the feast of St. Bartholomew (August 24).

Of the second crusade against Bohemia scanty and insufficient record has come down to us. Five of the German Electors took part in the campaign, and the whole invading force, according to the most trustworthy sources, numbered 200,000 men. Numerous volunteers from all parts of Germany flocked to the standard of the Cross, and were rewarded by the cardinal legate Branda with absolutions and indulgences. It had been decided that the Germans should enter Bohemia from the west, by Cheb[1] whilst Sigismund and his son-in-law Albert, Duke of Austria, would invade the country from the east. The town of Kutna Hora in Eastern Bohemia still numbered many adherents of the papal cause, who were, therefore, also friendly to the cause of Sigismund.

The Germans marched through Western Bohemia burning the villages and murdering the inhabitants "more cruelly than heathens would have done." They began the siege of the town of Žatec,[2] and on September 17, 1421, made an attempt to storm it, but they were beaten back by the bravery of the Bohemian garrison of only 6000 men. The news that the army of the Praguers [3] was approaching, and disgust at Sigismund's failure to fulfil his promise of creating a diversion in Eastern Bohemia, caused the Germans to retreat precipitately and ingloriously.

Fortune here again favoured the Bohemians. Sigismund had but just completed his armaments when the last German soldiers left the soil of Bohemia. His troops and those of his son-in-law entered Moravia early in October. The supreme command of the army, which consisted of about 23,000 men, was entrusted to the Italian condottiere Pipa of Ozora. Moravia was soon subdued, and the easy conquest of the sister-land was not without its effect on Bohemia. Many of the Bohemian lords, whom the excesses of fanatics, both at Prague and at Tabor, had alienated from

[1] In German, "Eger." [2] In German, "Saaz."

[3] It is uncertain whether Žižka and his Taborites took part in this expedition, though there is evidence that the men of Prague appealed to him for aid. Žižka himself can at that time hardly have recovered from his wound.

the national cause, resumed allegiance to King Sigismund. Among them was Čeněk of Wartenberg, whose political manœuvres we may consider typical of the vacillating policy of the great utraquist nobles of his time.

Soon after entering Bohemia, Sigismund obtained possession of the town of Kutna Hora, by the aid of a powerful party among the townsmen who upheld the papal cause, or at any rate were opposed to the hegemony which Prague at this period attempted to impose on the Bohemian towns. Žižka, who with his Taborites had now joined his forces with those of Prague, retreated before the invaders as far as Kolin, and Emperor Sigismund spent Christmas at Kutna Hora, feeling certain that he had now at last subdued the Bohemians.

Žižka had meanwhile received reinforcements from various parts of Bohemia, and his soldiers, exasperated by the atrocities which the Hungarian soldiers of Sigismund had committed, were even more anxious than usual to encounter the foe. On the other hand, Pipa strongly advised the king to retreat. When Žižka's army, on the "day of the three kings" (or Epiphany) (January 6, 1422), suddenly attacked the village of Nebovid—between Kolin and Kutna Hora—a panic seized the king's forces. An immediate retreat became necessary, and though Sigismund is said to have urged some of the Bohemian nobles who were now on his side to attempt to hold the town of Kutna Hora, they "refused to encounter certain death." The retreat soon became a rout, and nearly 12,000 of Sigismund's soldiers were killed, the king only escaping by his rapid flight. The town of Německý Brod,[1] where a last stand was made, was stormed by the Bohemians on January 10, 1422. Contrary to Žižka's orders[2] its defenders were put to the sword, while the town was pillaged and totally destroyed.

This great victory of the Bohemians for the time ensured to them safety from foreign enemies, and it also precipitated the result of the negotiations with Poland. King Vladislav had declined the Bohemian crown, but his brother Alexander Witold, Prince of Lithuania, was now ready to accept

[1] In German, Deutsch Brod.

[2] As a proof of this, Palacký quotes an autograph letter of Žižka preserved in the Bohemian Museum at Prague, in which he, later in the year, ordered his soldiers to assemble at Německý Brod, "that they might repent where they had sinned."

it, as it had been repeatedly offered to him by Bohemian deputations.

Witold assumed the title of "acknowledged" or "demanded"[1] King of Bohemia, and with his aid and consent his nephew Sigismund Korybut[2] equipped an armed force of about 5000 men to maintain Witold's claim to the Bohemian throne. This enterprise caused great excitement among the Slav populations of Eastern Europe. "The Poles at that time most sympathized with Bohemia, and desired a union between the two countries; still greater enthusiasm was shown by the Ruthenian population of the districts near Lemberg, who, belonging to the Greek Church were themselves utraquists."[3]

Korybut first marched into Moravia, from which country King Sigismund retired on the news of the arrival of the Polish prince. Korybut then entered Bohemia, and on his arrival at Časlav was enthusiastically received by many of the utraquist nobles. He soon afterwards (May 16, 1422) arrived at Prague and assumed the government of Bohemia, as far as the almost anarchical condition of the land rendered any government possible.

Ever since the battle of Nebovid and King Sigismund's retreat into Hungary (which had temporarily secured Bohemia from foreign invasion), the town of Prague had been convulsed by continuous struggles, nominally caused by differences of opinion among the priesthood with regard to questions, often very trifling ones, of doctrine or ritual. The passionate interest in these matters, and still more the thorough comprehension of them which the Bohemians of that age showed, can only be compared to the condition of the population of Constantinople during the continuance of the Eastern Empire. Still, these questions gradually tended to become only the pretence for struggles of which the inevitable opposition between aristocracy and democracy was the real cause. As was natural, the more aristocratic party at Prague relied on the support of the utraquist nobles,

[1] The German term is "Postulirter König von Böhmen"; according to the old Bohemian traditions it was only the coronation that fully conferred the title of King of Bohemia.

[2] This prince, to distinguish him from King Sigismund, is generally known by his father's name as Korybut, or as Korybutovič, *i. e.* son of Korybut. Following Palacký, I have adopted the former and shorter denomination.

[3] Palacký.

always the most moderate element in the reform party; the democrats of Prague, on the other hand, found their natural allies in the democratic community of Tabor.

Korybut, whose principal supporters were the utraquist nobles, used his influence in favour of the aristocratic party at Prague, which through him obtained the important municipal offices of the city. He endeavoured, and not without success, to avoid a rupture with Žižka[1] and the more moderate Taborites, whose leader (contrary to the popular opinion, which represents him as an extreme fanatic) Žižka was.

As soon as order had been re-established in Prague, Korybut set out to besiege the castle of Karlstein, which was still held by the forces of King Sigismund, and which through its vicinity to Prague was a permanent menace to that town. This siege was unsuccessful, and Korybut, being obliged to return to Prague because of renewed riots that had broken out there, concluded a truce with the defenders of Karlstein. The duration of this truce, which Korybut concluded in his own name and in those of the utraquist lords, was fixed at one year.

King Sigismund had meanwhile endeavoured to detach the Polish princes from the Bohemian cause. His efforts were successful, and in consequence of an agreement with Sigismund, Prince Witold recalled his nephew who had been acting as his representative in Bohemia. Prince Korybut very reluctantly left Prague on December 24, 1422.

The temporary departure of Prince Korybut, whose influence on the affairs of Bohemia has been greatly under-rated, was almost immediately followed by civil war. Probably from distrust of the utraquist lords, who still held most of

[1] In his curious letter to the Praguers, in which he informed them that he would not oppose Prince Korybut, Žižka says: "We—the Taborites—will willingly obey his Highness (Prince Korybut), and with the Lord's help aid him in all rightful things by deed and by advice, and we beg that you all of you, from this day forth, will verily drop all the discord, quarrels, and bitterness which you have had either during your whole life or during these last years, so that you may honestly say the Lord's Prayer, and pray: 'Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us.'" Palacký very truly remarks that this letter gives us a clearer idea of the nature of the great Bohemian warrior than the most elaborate attempt to characterize him could do.

[2] This is probably caused by the fact that his conciliatory policy was equally distasteful to the papal and to the extreme Taborite partisans.

the State offices to which Korybut had appointed them, Žižka rejoined the more advanced Taborite party. It seems probable that the suspicion that these lords wished to reinstate Sigismund—whose complicity in the death of Hus Žižka never forgave—largely influenced the decision of the leader of the Taborites.

The first armed conflict between the Bohemian parties took place at Hořic (April 27, 1423), where Čeněk of Wartenberg was decisively defeated by Žižka. Almost at the same time the Praguers, and the utraquist lords then allied with them, began the siege of the castle of Křiženec, held at that time by the Taborites.

The fact that a new general armament against the Bohemian heretics was at that moment being prepared in Germany was probably one of the reasons why this siege did not last long. It was agreed to by both parties that a disputation between Calixtine and Taborite priests should take place at the neighbouring castle of Konopišt (1423). No decision was arrived at on the principal question whether the rites of the Church of Rome which the Calixtines had retained, and the use of vestments, were permissible or not. It was, however, decreed that these questions were only a matter of ecclesiastical regulation, and in no wise dependent on divine law. A subsequent disputation (June 24) between the priests remained without result, but the compromise—such as it was—for a time put a stop to the internal strife among the Bohemians.

As already mentioned, a new crusade against the Bohemians was decided on early in the year 1423; but this crusade was even more unsuccessful than its predecessors. The Slavs of Poland, who were to have taken part in it, were unwilling to go to war with Bohemia, in spite of the change of policy on the part of their king, Vladislav, and his brother Witold. The German princes, being engaged in constant disputes among themselves, only equipped a scanty force, which soon recrossed the Bohemian frontier, without having even met the Hussites in the open field. The King of Denmark, who had arrived in Germany with an army to wage war against the heretics, also returned to his own country.

If we can trust the contemporary records (which at this time are even more obscure than during the other years of the Hussite wars) the agreement of Konopišt was of exceed-

ingly short duration. Žižka appears from the first to have disapproved of it, and when the Praguers and their allies entered Moravia (end of July 1423) to aid the utraquists of that country against their old enemy John "the Iron," now bishop of Olomonc, the Taborites took no part in the expedition.

The Bohemian arms were on the whole victorious in Moravia, but troubles at home soon prevented the patriot army from pursuing its advantages. The town of Kralové Hradec had from the first warmly upheld the Calixtine cause. The governor of the castle, Bořek of Miletinck, who held supreme authority in the city, was leader of the Bohemian troops then engaged in warfare in Moravia.

During his absence a democratic movement broke out in the town of Kralové Hradec, and the citizens applied for aid to Žižka; they asserted that Bořek of Miletinck (who had been appointed governor by Prince Sigismund Korybut) no longer had any right to claim lordship over their city, since the prince who had appointed him had left Bohemia. Žižka received their request favourably, and consented to become their leader. This caused an internal conflict more serious than any that had as yet occurred during the Hussite wars.

Bořek of Miletinck, with his army of Praguers and utraquist lords, abandoned their conquests in Moravia, and speedily returned to Bohemia to oppose the Taborites. A sanguinary encounter took place near Kralové Hradec (not far from the more celebrated battle-field of 1866),[1] in which the Taborites decisively defeated the moderate or Calixtine party. The contemporary writers mention this battle with great sorrow, as here "ark was ranged against ark."[2] One of the prisoners—a priest who had carried the monstrance before the soldiers of Prague—was brought before Žižka, who exclaiming, "Thus will I consecrate these priests of the Praguers," struck him on the head with a club so fiercely that he died.[3]

[1] The battle of Kralové Hradec, or Königgrätz, is, I think, better known in England under the name of the battle of Sadova.

[2] The utraquist priests of all denominations were at that period in the habit of carrying the holy sacrament before the troops in the moment of battle, and it had become habitual to call the monstrance "the ark," in conformity with the great predilection for Old Testament expressions that was so general in Bohemia at that time.

[3] Bienenberg, *Geschichte der Stadt Königgrätz*.

It is probable that the battle of Hralové Hradec was followed by one of those temporary truces so frequent in the history of Bohemia at this time. At any rate we find Žižka almost immediately afterwards engaged in warfare in Moravia and in Hungary, by invading which country, the centre of Sigismund's power, it was perhaps hoped to induce him to come to terms. Žižka's Hungarian campaign was unsuccessful; but in it, and especially during his retreat, he displayed higher military ability than on almost any other occasion.

During Žižka's absence from Bohemia, the Praguers—still in alliance with the utraquist lords, who loyally but hopelessly attempted the impossible task of reconciling King Sigismund to their religious views—again entered into negotiations with the partisans of the king. At a Diet that met at Prague (October 16, 1423) it was resolved that representatives of the papal and of the utraquist clergy should meet at Brunn for the purpose of deciding all differences as to doctrine and ritual in a manner acceptable to all. This meeting never took place, and the negotiations with King Sigismund do not appear to have continued. The decision of Sigismund to award Moravia to his son-in-law Albert of Austria, whom he at the same time declared heir to the throne of Bohemia, was probably the cause.

On the other hand, these negotiations with the papal party exasperated Žižka, who, as Palacký says, now suspected the whole Calixtine party of insincerity, which he hated more than "open godlessness," as adherence to the Church of Rome appeared to him.

Civil war, therefore, broke out in Bohemia from the very beginning of the year 1424, which, as Palacký says, was Žižka's last and bloodiest year. Fighting between the Bohemian parties began early in January, as soon as Žižka had returned from Hungary; and several skirmishes, in which he was invariably victorious, took place. Later in the year he defeated the Praguers and utraquist lords in a very sanguinary and decisive battle at Malešov.

It is pleasing to think that the great Bohemian warrior at the moment of his death was again on terms of friendship with his countrymen. In spite of the strong sympathy for Bohemia that existed among the Poles, King Vladislav had definitely sided with the Pope; but Prince Korybut, contrary to the king's and Prince Witold's wishes, again bravely entered the turbulent arena of Bohemian political life. He

undoubtedly intended to obtain the Bohemian crown,[1] but the Bohemians only recognized him as provisional governor of their country.

It seems certain that it was through the mediation of Prince Korybut that peace between Žižka and the Praguers was agreed on. Žižka, who was by no means the unreasoning fanatic such as former history described him, realized more clearly than most of his contemporaries the hopelessness of the continued isolated struggle of his people. He also, and no doubt rightly, thought that it was only from other Slav countries that his country could hope for efficient aid. For this reason Žižka always showed himself friendly to the Polish prince, through whom aid from the people of Poland, if not from the king, could perhaps be obtained.

On September 14, 1422, a treaty of peace was signed between Prince Korybut and the Praguers on one side, Žižka and the Taborites on the other. This treaty was signed on a spot then known as the "Spitalske Pole" (hospital field), on the spot where Karlin, the suburb of Prague, now stands. It was largely due to the eloquence of the young priest John of Rokycan, who afterwards became very celebrated as utraquist Archbishop of Prague.

The exact terms of the treaty are not known to us, but the reconciliation was a complete one, for immediately afterwards the utraquist lords and Praguers under Korybut, and the Taborites under Žižka, marched together against Moravia, then in the power of Sigismund's son-in-law, Albert of Austria.

Before the allies had reached Moravia, Žižka died of the plague during the siege of the castle of Pribislav, not far from the Moravian frontier (October 11, 1424).

Many untruthful and invidious accounts of the death of the great Bohemian general were circulated by the enemies of his nation, and have been constantly repeated even by writers as recent as Carlyle. They may be traced to Aenaeas Sylvius, who states that Žižka died blaspheming, and ordered that his body should be flayed, his skin used as a drum, and his body thrown to the wild beasts. In contrast to these tales, so obviously in opposition to the nature of Žižka as recent research has revealed it to us, it may be well to quote

[1] Professor Tomek quotes Korybut's declaration of war against King Sigismund, in which he calls himself "desired and elected King of Bohemia.

the account of a contemporary writer, not improbably an eye-witness. He writes[1]: "Here at Přibislav brother Žižka was seized by a deadly attack of the plague. He gave his last charge to his faithful Bohemians [saying], that fearing their beloved God, they should firmly and faithfully defend God's law in view of His reward in eternity; and then brother Žižka commended his soul to God, and died on the Wednesday before the day of St. Gallus." Even had we no historical evidence to the point, this tranquil death would appear a fitting end for the great Bohemian patriot. He who had so often fought what he firmly considered God's battles, assuredly did not dread entering into God's peace.

The importance of Žižka's position in history can hardly be exaggerated. As has been already noticed, it was entirely due to him and to his exceptional military genius that the Hussite movement did not collapse as soon as large armed forces were moved against Bohemia. Had not the genius of Žižka contrived to render the Bohemian warriors for the time invincible, the name of the Hussites would be unknown to history, in which Hus would only appear as an isolated enthusiast like Savonarola.[2] The immediate consequences of the death of Žižka were of great importance to Bohemia. He was in command of a large army. Had he lived and freed Moravia, as Bohemia had been, from the power of Sigismund and Albert, a Diet of the two lands would have assembled and in all probability have definitely declared Prince Sigismund Korybut king.

The death of their great leader did not for the moment weaken the Bohemian armies, and able leaders formed in Žižka's school took the command of the utraquist forces.[3] "Žižka's blindness had that advantage, that his military

[1] *Staří Letopisove Česti* (ancient Bohemian Chronicles).

[2] Zacharias Theobaldus (*Hussitenkrieg*) records several epitaphs on Žižka, which are reprinted by Lenfant in his *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*. They are not older than the sixteenth century. The most characteristic of them is the following—

"Strennuus in bellis hoc dormit Žižka sepulchro
Žižka suae gentis gloria, Martis honos
Ille duces scelerum monachos, pestemque nefandam
Ad Stygias justo fulmine trusit aquas
Surget adhuc rursus, quadratae cornua cristae
Supplicii ut poenas, quas meruere luant."

The "quadratae cornua cristae" are, of course, the monks, against whom these lines breathe such bitter hatred.

[3] Tomek, *Jan Žižka*.

talents had been already largely transferred to his lieutenants and aides-de-camp. Obliged to see through their eyes, he taught them all the better to notice the advantages afforded either by the disposition of the ground, or by his own experience in the distribution of his forces."[1]

Divisions among Žižka's followers arose almost immediately after his death, the causes of which do not appear clearly from contemporary records. One of the parties retained the name of Taborites, while the other, consisting probably of Žižka's more immediate associates, assumed that of the Orphans, thus indicating that they had, in losing Žižka, lost their father. The two parties appear to have divided the captured towns and castles among themselves. Tabor remained the head-quarters of the Taborites, while Kralové Hradec became the principal stronghold of the Orphans. The first commander of the Orphans was Kuneš of Bělovic, and of the Taborites, Hvězda of Vicemilic. The two priests Prokop (who are better known to readers of history, and whom Aenaeas Sylvius[2] mentions as immediate successors of Žižka) only obtained command of the Hussite forces somewhat later.

The estrangement of the old followers of Žižka was merely temporary, but it none the less raised the hopes of the utraquist nobles and their allies of Prague. They believed that if they succeeded in suppressing the more advanced faction it would become easier for them to make terms with their foreign enemies, and perhaps to secure the recognition of Prince Sigismund Korybut as king. Warfare between the national or utraquist parties—the Taborites and the Orphans forming one, the Praguers and the nobles allied with them the other side—broke out in various parts of Bohemia early in the year 1425. After the capture of the castle of Wožic by the Taborites, whose leader, Havězda, was mortally wounded during the siege, peace was concluded between the contending parties. This time also we are not informed as to the terms of the agreement. We are only told that it was decided that all the Bohemians should together undertake a campaign against Sigismund and his son-in-law, Albert of Austria. Probably in consequence of the agreement of Vožic, a Diet—presided over by Prince Korybut—assembled at Prague, at which not only members of all the national parties, but also some of the papal party were present

[1] Palacký. [2] *Historica Bohemica.*

Some members of the latter party about this date concluded a truce with the utraquists, as their expectations of help from King Sigismund gradually decreased.

King Sigismund had, however, by no means abandoned his hopes of regaining Bohemia. Before the treaty of Vožic had been concluded, the king had collected a large army in Moravia, intending to enter Bohemia. The various forces of the utraquists now united according to the agreement, marched against him, and forced him to evacuate Moravia; they then pursued him into Austria, where they besieged and captured the town of Retz. During the siege, Bohuslav of Schwamberg, who had succeeded Hvězda of Vicemilic as leader of the Taborites, was killed; and Prokop, surnamed the Great, a married Taborite priest who belonged to a family of Prague citizens, became their chief.

The German princes had meanwhile begun again to take up arms against the Bohemians, whom they hated as heretics and as belonging to a hostile race. An assembly of German princes, presided over by Duke Frederick of Saxony, took place at Nuremberg (end of May 1426), when it was decided again to invade Bohemia. The matter became more urgent when the news arrived that the Bohemians were besieging the town of Usti,[1] which, though situated in Bohemia, had been pledged by King Sigismund to the Dukes of Saxony. Even before the return of her husband, the Duchess Catherine equipped a large force, which was to march to the aid of Usti. She herself accompanied the soldiers as far as the Bohemian frontier, exhorting them not only to be brave but prudent. The German army was 70,000 men strong, while the Bohemians, led by Prince Korybut, Victorin of Poděbrad, Prokop the Great, and other commanders, only mustered 25,000 men. When the Germans arrived near Usti on Sunday morning (June 16, 1426), the Bohemians wrote to them begging them that, should God help them, they would receive them (the Bohemians) "in good grace" (as prisoners); they might then expect the same from them. But the Germans in their pride and haughtiness, relying on the strength of their army, answered defiantly "that they would let no heretic live." The Bohemians then swore to one another that

[1] Generally known as Usti nad Labem, to distinguish it from Usti and Orlici. The German name of the town is Aussig.

they also would have no mercy on any man.[1] The Bohemians were unwilling to fight on Sunday, but seeing that the battle was inevitable, they all knelt down and prayed to God with great piety and humility. Korybut in a fervent speech entreated them to meet the enemy bravely and with a cheerful mind. On the advice of Prokop, who here adopted the defensive tactics of his master Žižka, the Bohemian army occupied a hill named Běhani, near the village of Predlitz, and at no great distance from the town of Usti, where the wagon-forts could be firmly established. The Germans attacked bravely, and arrived close to the enemies' lines, when the Bohemians, who had reserved their fire, discharged all their guns at close quarters. A panic among the German forces ensued. The slaughter of the Germans was terrific, and their flight continued till they reached the mountains that divide Bohemia from Saxony. The Bohemians, as had been agreed, took no prisoners, and twenty-four counts and lords who knelt down before the victors demanding grace were instantly killed. The Germans lost over 15,000 men during the battle and the rout that followed it. The Bohemian losses were very slight, though certainly considerably greater than the number of thirty men which some contemporary writers give. The camp and supplies of the Germans also fell into the hands of the Bohemians, who mockingly said that their enemies had incurred the papal ban, as they had so largely enriched the heretics. The town of Usti surrendered the day after the battle, and was burnt down by the Bohemians.

The news of this great victory over the Hussites caused a panic in the whole of Northern Germany, where an immediate invasion of the Bohemians was expected. Many towns were newly fortified, and in others the fortifications were repaired. These apprehensions proved unfounded, at least for the moment, as internal dissensions broke out among the Bohemians immediately after their great victory. This quarrel, in which we again find the Taborites and Orphans on one side, the Praguers and utraquist nobles on the other, was, however, of short duration; only in one district did actual war between the opposed parties take place. It is certain that before the end of the year 1426 the national parties in Bohemia were again on friendly

[1] Palacký, quoting contemporary records.

terms, for we read that early in the following year the Taborites and Orphans again entered Moravia and drove Sigismund's son-in-law, Duke Albert of Austria, out of that country. They then followed him into his own dominions, where they defeated him in a great battle at Zwettl (March 12, 1427), in which 9000 Austrians fell.

Almost immediately afterwards an event took place which not improbably was decisive in determining the future of the Hussite movement. Dissensions again broke out among the clergy of Prague; some priests had—to strengthen the alliance with the Taborites—permitted greater deviations from the ritual and dogma of the Roman Church than the Articles of Prague authorized. Among the prominent members of this party was John of Rokycan, whom Archbishop Conrad had consecrated as Vicar-General, and Peter Payne, an Englishman by birth who was generally known as "Magister Engliš." The teaching of these and some other priests caused a reaction among the more moderate Calixtines; their leader was Magister John Přibram, and this party enjoyed the favour of Prince Korybut. It seems certain that the prince had entered into negotiations with Pope Martin V. He probably hoped that by obtaining from the Pontiff some such concessions as were afterwards granted by the Compacts of Basel, he could pacify Bohemia, and then become its undisputed ruler. There was no time to mature these plans. On April 17, 1427, Korybut was suddenly seized in the castle of Waldstein; his adherents made an unsuccessful attempt to liberate him, but he was afterwards allowed to return to his own country. Magister Přibram and other ecclesiastics of the moderate party were also exiled from Prague.

There is no doubt that the retirement of Prince Korybut was a decisive blow to the party which hoped to establish an independent monarchy under a sovereign who accepted the Articles of Prague. It also—monarchy being at that time the only possible form of government over an extended area of country—ultimately proved fatal to the hopes of those who wished to preserve the autonomy of Bohemia, as well as the religious ceremonies which had become so dear to its people.

A monarch of Slav nationality—belonging to the reigning family of Poland, in which country sympathy with the

Hussites was at that time very strong[1]—would perhaps have fully succeeded in a task in which George of Poděbrad was only partially and temporarily successful.

As soon as the internal dissensions had for a time ceased, the Bohemians again turned their attention to their foreign enemies. They now, for the first time, assumed the offensive. An army commanded by Prokop the Great, Prokop the Less, leader of the Orphans, and by other chiefs, entered Lusatia and Silesia, and after having ravaged the country in every direction returned to Bohemia laden with booty. This was the first of a series of warlike incursions of the Hussites into Germany, which it will be unnecessary to detail. The cruelty of the Hussites during the invasions of Germany long remained traditional in that country; impartial judges will, however, have to admit that the Hussites, on the whole, behaved with more humanity in Germany than did the crusading armies during their repeated invasions of Bohemia.

Another of these invasions was at that time being prepared. King Sigismund was engaged in warfare with the Turks during the whole of the years 1427 and 1428, but Pope Martin V induced several of the German princes to undertake a new crusade against the Hussites. As leader of the crusade the Pope chose Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, who was made a cardinal at the same time; this honour was also conferred on the old enemy of the Hussites, John "the Iron," now bishop of Olomonc. His relationship to the royal family of England[2] gave Cardinal Henry no small influence; this, as well as the cardinal's long experience of secular affairs, probably governed the Pope's choice. The cardinal, who was appointed apostolic legate for Bohemia, Hungary, and Germany, and received full powers from the Pope, himself accompanied the invading army, though the Margrave Frederick of Brandenburg assumed the military command. The Duke of Bavaria, the Archbishops of Maintz and Trier, the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg, were among the many temporal and ecclesiastical princes who in person took part in the crusade. The total force of the invading army consisted

[1] Want of space renders it impossible to enter further into the little known subject of the extension of the Hussite movement to Hungary, Poland, and other parts of Eastern Europe.

[2] He was a legitimized son of John of Gaunt and Catharine Swynford

according to the lowest estimates, of 80,000 horsemen and the same number of infantry; some contemporary writers, however, give much higher figures. Cardinal Henry himself was accompanied by a body-guard of 1000 English archers. It was decided this time to attack Bohemia from the west, in which part of the country—the district of Plzeň—the papal party had more adherents than in any other. The invading army first laid siege to the town of Stříbro, which was bravely defended by the Hussite leader Přibik of Klenau, though his garrison consisted of two hundred men only. The Bohemians, as usual, united in the moment of peril, immediately marched to his aid under the command of the two Prokops, but with a very small force,[1] "prepared"—to use Palacký's words—"to defend the chalice against the whole Christian world." When the Bohemian army arrived at a distance of three (German) miles from Stříbro on August 27th, 1247, a terrific panic seized the crusaders at the mere news of their approach. The whole army fled in a wild rout till they reached the town of Tachov. They were met by Cardinal Henry of Winchester, who entreated them, if they valued their future salvation, not to fly before heretic forces so far inferior to their own. He caused the papal standard to be displayed, and put himself at the head of those whom he had persuaded to attempt to rally. Through his efforts the crusaders, or more probably part of their army, remained at Tachov, prepared to face the Bohemians. When the latter, however, arrived two days later, their appearance had the same result as at Stříbro. The whole army fled in wild confusion in the direction of the Sŭmava, or Bohemian forest, which here constitutes the frontier between Bohemia and Germany. Thousands of Germans were killed by the Bohemians, who continued the pursuit as far as the passes of the Sŭmava. The princes of the empire, who seem to have undertaken the crusade in a very half-hearted spirit, were unable to control their men. All the prayers and entreaties of Cardinal Henry proved of no avail; it was in vain that he seized the standard of the empire, in a state of furious excitement tore it into shreds in the presence of the princes, and then with fearful im-

[1] Palacký himself considers the figures he gives—1500 horsemen and 16,000 infantry—too low; it will seem probable to many that the Bohemian chroniclers of the Hussite wars sometimes understated the forces of their countrymen and exaggerated those of the crusaders.

precations threw it at their feet. The English cardinal was at last obliged to join in the general stampede, and narrowly escaped becoming a prisoner of the heretics.[1]

This rout of the invaders was again followed by internal disturbances, especially in the township of Prague. A dispute arose between the community of the Staré Město (Old Town) and the Nové Město (New Town) with regard to the distribution of the confiscated ecclesiastical property. The inhabitants of the new town were aided by the Orphans, while the more conservative burghers of the old town attempted to re-establish their former alliance with the utraquist nobles, which had been interrupted by the deposition of Prince Korybut.

These disturbances do not for the moment appear to have been of great importance, as we read that in December of the same year (1427) Prokop the Great marched into Hungary at the head of a Hussite army. He ravaged a wide extent of country apparently without experiencing any resistance from the Hungarians. Prokop afterwards returned to Moravia, where he was joined by reinforcements. He then undertook a new invasion of Germany. Penetrating far into Silesia he burnt the suburbs of Breslau, and forced many of the Silesian princes to conclude treaties of peace and even of alliance with Bohemia. The Bishop of Breslau, who, aided by some Silesian princes and towns, attempted to oppose the invincible Bohemians, was defeated in a very sanguinary encounter at Neisse (March 18, 1428), in which the Germans are said to have lost 9000 men. During the same year other Hussite bands invaded and ravaged the districts of Austria and Bavaria which are nearest to the Bohemian frontier.

The complete failure of all efforts forcibly to subdue Bohemia made Sigismund, at least for a time, seriously meditate on the possibility of a peaceful settlement. On the other hand, the utraquist nobles, among whom Menhard, lord of Jindřichův Hradec, was now the most prominent, after the departure of Korybut, began to endeavour to reconcile King Sigismund with the Bohemian people. Menhard of Jindřichův Hradec wished to arrange a meeting between Sigismund and Prokop the Great, at that moment the most important representative of the utraquist or Hussite cause. It was suggested that Prokop should visit the nominal

[1] Palacký.

King of Bohemia, who was then residing at Presburg, not far from the Moravian frontier. Prokop did not refuse this proposal. As soon as a safe-conduct had been obtained, the Bohemian leader, accompanied by Menhard of Jindřichův Hradec, by Magister Payne, and a few other followers, and by an escort of only two hundred horsemen, started for Presburg, where they arrived on April 14, 1429. The deliberations that took place did not at first appear hopeless; both parties were indeed anxious to terminate the war. King Sigismund, who had assumed a conciliatory attitude in consequence of his many defeats, received the Hussite envoys graciously. He entreated them to return to the papal doctrine, or, were that impossible, at least to suspend all hostilities till after the opening of the great Council at Basel, which was to meet within two years; to this Council he wished them to refer all disputed points concerning doctrine or ritual.

The proposed truce was distinctly unfavourable to the Bohemians, who by accepting it would have lost the advantage of their recent military successes, while affording their enemies time to prepare new armaments. The Bohemian envoys consequently declined to give an answer to this proposal, stating that it was impossible for them to do so before the Estates of Bohemia had been consulted. On the other hand, they entreated King Sigismund to accept their articles of belief, assuring him that, should he do so, they would rather have him as their king than any one else. This proposal irritated Sigismund, who swore to God that he would rather die than err in his faith.

These negotiations thus ended in failure, which became still more evident when the Diet assembled at Prague (May 23, 1429). The ambassadors whom Sigismund had sent there questioned the Diet as to its willingness to be represented at the future Council and to conclude a truce; the Diet, however, made its consent dependent on conditions which Sigismund was certain not to accept. The Estates declared that they were prepared to recognize the future Council if the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Patriarch of Constantinople (all of whom partook of the communion in both kinds) were duly represented. A further condition was that the Council should he held according to the law of God and not according to that of the Pope; so that not only the Pope but the whole Christian world could freely express its

opinion. Should such a Council assemble, they were ready to send to it wise, prudent, and pious men, and to furnish them with full powers. As to the truce, the Estates were only prepared to grant it should Duke Albert of Austria evacuate Moravia, which country had been ceded to him by the Emperor and King Sigismund. They also made several other reservations, of which the most important were, that the truce should only be valid for Sigismund's own territories, but not for Bavaria and Saxony; also that all those who had formerly accepted the utraquist doctrine and then deserted it should be excluded from the truce.

King Sigismund, as was inevitable, considered these proposals to be inadmissible; he had, in fact, immediately after the rupture of the negotiations of Presburg, again begged the German princes to arm against the heretics. Pope Martin V, the most indefatigable enemy of Bohemia, also caused a new crusade to be preached against the land. Special reliance was placed on England. The cardinal-legate Henry of Winchester had equipped a force of 5000 men, with which he crossed the seas in July (1429). On his march through Belgium the cardinal was recalled, and ordered, instead of continuing his march to Bohemia, to proceed with his troops to France, where the victories of Joan of Arc at that time rendered his presence necessary. The cardinal obeyed reluctantly, but was forced to do so, as his troops declared that they would in any case, even against his wish, march into France, as their king had ordered them to do so.

The Germans seized on the abandonment of the English expedition as an excuse for giving up the intended crusade. They were comforted by the hope that, after defeating the English, Joan of Arc would appear in Bohemia and exterminate the heretics. A very menacing letter[1] which she

[1] This curious letter, printed in Pubitschka's Bohemian history, is unfortunately too long in its entirety. Joan of Arc begins by saying: "Jam-dudum mihi Johanne puelle rumor ipse famaque pertulit quod ex veris Kristianis Heretici et Saracenis similes facti veram religionem atque cultum sustulistis assumpsistique superstitionem fedam ac nefariam quam dum tueri et augere studetis nulla est turpido neque condelitas quam non andeatis." Joan of Arc further tells the Bohemians that "nisi in bellis anglicis essem occupata jam-pridem visitatum vos venissem Verumtamen nisi emendatos vos intelligam dimittam forte anglicanos et adversus vos proficiscar ut . . . vosque vel heresi privem vel tiva." Should they, however, submit to the Roman creed, "Vestras

was supposed to have written to the Bohemians, and which for a time was widely circulated, confirmed them in their hopes.

The Germans, though they had so easily abandoned their intention of invading Bohemia, were not long destined to enjoy peace. In the same year (1429) the Bohemians again attacked them in their own country. During the summer small detachments of Bohemians had already pillaged the neighbouring districts of Lusatia, but in December Prokop the Great led into Germany an army greater than any the Bohemians had ever before assembled for warfare beyond their frontiers. This adventurous expedition, of which want of space makes it impossible to give a detailed account, first marched into Saxony, where the Duke of Saxony and other German princes had assembled an army of 10,000 men near Leipzig; this army, however, dispersed at the mere news that the dreaded Bohemians were approaching. The Bohemians then continued their march through Germany, burning down many towns, and ravaging the country in every direction. The general terror was so great that even towns distant from their line of march like Hamburg and Lüneberg prepared their defences. The Bohemians, however, marched southward, intending to attack the city of Nuremberg before returning to their country.

Frederick of Hohenzollern, Margrave of Brandenburg, and Burgrave of Nuremberg, who seems already to have been gifted with the political insight which has ever since been characteristic of his race, saved the town from the danger that menaced it. At a personal interview that took place between him and Prokop and other Bohemian generals at Kulmbach (Feb. 6, 1430), Frederick concluded a truce with the Bohemians in his own name as well as in that of the German princes and the towns that were then

ad me Ambassiatores mittatis; ipsis dicam quid illud sit quod facere vos opporteat." The letter ends with renewed threats should the Bohemians remain obstinate. This letter, the original spelling of which I have retained, is printed in Pubitschka's *Chronologische Geschichte v. Bohem* (pt. vi. vol. i). It is dated from "Suliaci (Sully) iii Marci 1429." Palacký also mentions it, and tells us, as a proof of the importance which was at the time attached to it, that he found a copy of it among the documents of the Imperial chancellory referring to Emperor Sigismund's reign. Mr. Anatole France, in his *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, has republished this letter in a somewhat different form.

allied with him. The Bohemians promised, on payment of a large sum of money, to return to their own country. It was also agreed—and this condition probably seemed the most onerous to the papal partisans—that a meeting should take place at Nuremberg between papal and utraquist ecclesiastics; and the validity of the Articles of Prague was to be there discussed. In consequence of opposition on the part of the Pope, this interview never took place. The Bohemians meanwhile returned to their land "after a more glorious campaign against the Germans than any (other) that is noted in the chronicles. Had they, like their ancestors, desired glory, they would have marched as far as the Rhine and have subdued many countries."[1]

All contemporary records note the great impression which the victorious march of the Bohemians through Germany produced all over Europe. The danger of the Hussite movement spreading to the neighbouring countries seemed an increasing one. The report of the constant victories of the Hussites reached France, and even distant Spain. Being considered as a proof that God was on the side of the Bohemians, it caused similar movements (which were, however, rapidly suppressed) to break out in those countries. The more far-seeing adherents of the papal cause now began seriously to reflect whether, the forcible suppression of the heretics appearing impossible, a peaceful agreement with them could be achieved. The German princes were also anxious for peace.

Where political parties are constituted and divided from one another solely by reference to social considerations, there is no little danger for the State. Such a condition of things did not exist in Bohemia at the moment, for a large part of the utraquist nobility were in alliance with the Praguers, and a few nobles and knights were even still found in the Taborite camp. But the Hussite movement constantly tended towards becoming more and more democratic.

The mere fact that Prokop the Great, a man of modest birth, had become the leader of vast armies and negotiated on terms of equality with dukes and princes could not fail to excite in Germany all those who were dissatisfied with the existent order of things. Sympathy with the followers of Hus had on isolated occasions manifested itself in Germany,

[1] Palacký, quoting from contemporary chroniclers.

and it did not seem impossible that, should the Hussites continue their invasions, even the old racial hatred between Slavs and Teutons might be insufficient to prevent the people from fraternizing with the invaders.

On the other hand, the Bohemians, and especially the utraquist nobles and the burghers of Prague, were also desirous of peace. A ten years' struggle against almost all Europe had not unnaturally exhausted the country. It was impossible, without incurring the risk of starvation, to keep the whole able-bodied male population constantly under arms. The Bohemian leaders had, therefore, been obliged to strengthen their armies by enlisting foreign mercenaries. The great booty the Bohemian armies obtained rendered this course easy. Large numbers of Poles and Ruthenians —attracted not only by the hope of plunder but also by affinity of race, and in the case of the Ruthenians also of religion—flocked to the Bohemian standards. Many Germans, even, were now found in the Hussite armies. This change in the composition of the utraquist forces, who were no longer Žižka's "warriors of God," contributed to further the desire for peace among the more moderate Bohemians, particularly among the then very powerful utraquist priesthood.

As it was certain that unconditional subjection to the Pope's authority could be enforced on the Bohemians only at the point of the sword, it was consistent with the ideas of the age that a General Council of the Church was the only available expedient. The Hussites had all along considered the accusation of heresy as the greatest of insults; and they strenuously maintained that they formed a part of the universal Church, and therefore could not and did not directly dispute the authority of a General Council. They maintained, however, as has already been noted, that no Council could be considered as a general one in which the Eastern Church was unrepresented.[1] They also wished it to be stipulated that the decision on all disputed questions should lie with the Council and not the Pope.

[1] This point of view seems greatly to have irritated the adherents of the papal cause; in a letter of the year 1431, addressed to the King of Poland, King Sigismund says that "the Bohemians only recognize the Council under certain conditions, demanding that the Indians [*sic*], Greeks, Armenians, and schismatics, in fact, all who believe in Christ, should be present at the Council, as well as other things to write which would be more ridiculous than useful." (Letter, quoted by Palacký.)

In consequence of the general desire for peace, several German princes, as well as the University of Paris, earnestly petitioned Pope Martin V to comply with the universal wish, and assemble a General Council of the Church. The Pope was strongly opposed to this, as he still held the view that force of arms was the only means of ending the Hussite troubles. Martin was at that time negotiating with King Vladislav of Poland for the purpose of inducing him to attack the Bohemian heretics. These negotiations were unsuccessful. King Vladislav, over whom his nephew, Prince Korybut—an old friend of Bohemia—had at that moment great influence, assumed a less hostile attitude against the Hussites than he had shown for some time.

Though still hoping to organize another crusade, Pope Martin now gave a reluctant consent to the assembling of the Council. It was decided that it should meet at Basel on March 3, 1431, and the Pope directed Cardinal Julius Cesarini to preside over it as his representative. Cardinal Cesarini was at the same time appointed papal legate for Germany, and instructed above all things to urge the German princes to make one more effort to subdue Bohemia by force of arms. The cardinal therefore first proceeded to Nuremberg, where Sigismund, in the spring of the year 1431, had assembled a Diet of the Empire. The Diet almost unanimously decreed a general armament of all Germany against the heretics. Cardinal Cesarini sent a message to Basel, where the members of the Council were already beginning to arrive, informing them that their deliberations were to be deferred till after the end of the crusade, in which he himself intended to take part.

The Bohemians, as usual, united in view of the common peril, though we read of another serious dispute between the priests of Tabor and those of Prague about this time (April 1431). A general meeting of the Bohemian leaders took place at Kutna Hora, in which twelve regents were chosen for the provisional government of the land. The regents included members of all the various utraquist parties, the utraquist nobles not excepted. The assembly soon transferred the seat of its deliberations to Prague. Ambassadors of the Emperor Sigismund appeared before it, though Sigismund had undoubtedly already decided again to appeal to the fortune of war. It was here agreed between the regents and the envoys of Sigismund that the Bohemians

should send ambassadors to Cheb, where they were to meet Sigismund himself and several of the German princes.

The negotiations at Cheb—as all parties perhaps expected—met with no result. Differences of opinion as to the composition and the powers of the future Council were the principal obstacle.

The new crusade against Bohemia, destined to be the last one, thus became inevitable. The Bohemian ambassadors returned to Prague (May 31), informed the people that all hope of peace had vanished, and called the whole nation to arms against the expected invaders. Prokop the Great, for the moment, became actually, though not nominally, dictator of Bohemia. He assembled an army of 50,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry, to which all the utraquist parties contributed; but it was noticed that many lords of that faith, though they sent their contingents, did not themselves join Prokop's standards. Prince Korybut of Poland, however, rejoined the Bohemian forces in the hour of peril, though only as a volunteer. The army of the crusaders, commanded by Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg, with whom was Cardinal Cesarini—King Sigismund having returned to Nuremberg—only crossed the Bohemian frontier on August 1. The crusaders, and particularly the papal legate, were full of hope that this expedition would at last succeed in extirpating the Bohemian heretics. The cardinal had just received a large sum of money from the new Pope, Eugenius IV,[1] to aid in the expenses of the campaign, and was so certain of victory that he had already written to Sigismund asking for a grant of land in Bohemia, as soon as the country should have been conquered.

The army of the crusaders, according to the lowest estimates, consisted of 90,000 infantry and 40,000 horsemen. Again attacking Bohemia from the west, they first laid siege to the town of Tachov, known already from one of the former crusades. Unable to capture the strongly-fortified city, they stormed the little town of Most, and here, as well as in the surrounding country, committed the most horrible atrocities[2] on a population a large part of which had never belonged to the utraquist faith. The crusaders, advancing in very slow marches, now penetrated

[1] Eugenius IV succeeded Martin V as Pope in the year 1431.

[2] This is admitted even by Aenaeas Sylvius (*Historica Bohemica*), a writer who was, of course, hostile to the Hussite cause.

further into Bohemia, till they reached the neighbourhood of the town of Domažlice. On August 14 Prokop the Great and his troops also arrived in the neighbourhood of that town. "It was at three o'clock that the crusaders, who were encamped in the plain between Domažlice [1] and Horšův Týn, received the news that the Hussites were approaching and that the decisive battle was near. Though the Bohemians were still a (German) mile off, the rattle of their war-wagons and the song, "All ye warriors of God," which the whole army was intoning, could already be heard." The cardinal and the Duke of Saxony ascended a neighbouring hill, so as to be able to inspect the ground where the battle would take place. Suddenly they heard a great noise in the German camp, and noticed that the German horsemen were dispersing in every direction, and that the wagons were driving off to the rear. "What is this?" said the cardinal. "Why are these wagons throwing off their loads?" Directly afterwards a messenger, sent by the Margrave of Brandenburg, arrived, announcing that the army was in full flight: the cardinal should therefore think of his own safety, and fly to the forest before it was too late. The cardinal escaped with great difficulty, menaced not by the Bohemians, but by the crusaders, who threw all responsibility for the disaster on him. To save him, the Bishop of Würsburg induced him to assume the dress of his military retinue. He thus escaped disguised as a common soldier, riding away very mournfully, and remaining a whole day and night without partaking of food or drink.[2] The victory, though for the Bohemians an almost bloodless one, was the most decisive they ever gained. The Hussites this time, better provided with cavalry than usual, pursued the enemy far into the passes of the Böhmerwald, and inflicted immense losses. This victory for a time put a stop to all attempts to coerce Bohemia. Cardinal Cesarini now became at the Council the strongest advocate of a peaceful agreement with the utraquists. About the same time that the battle of Domažlice took place Bohemia was also invaded from the north by some of the Silesian princes, and from the east by Duke Albert of Austria. Both these attacks were successfully repulsed; the priest Prokop "the

[1] In German, "Tauss."

[2] Abridged from Palacký's account of the battle, which is founded on the narrative of John of Segovia, who, as a personal friend of Cesarini, probably had many details from the Cardinal himself.

Lesser" (Prokůpek), leader of the Orphans, specially distinguishing himself by his defence of Moravia against the Austrians. With the exception of Plzeň and a few isolated castles, the regents now held undisputed dominion over the whole of Bohemia and Moravia, as well as over a large part of Silesia; in the latter country, however, their authority was always contested.

By their victory at Domažlice the Bohemians attained the summit of their military glory.[1] At no period was the fate of Europe so completely in their hands as at that moment. The idea of opposing them in the field, which even before this crowning victory was scouted by many, now became an absurdity. The Bohemians, on the other hand, still desired peace. It has, perhaps, not been sufficiently noted that they were entirely unaffected by the intoxication of victory. They made no attempt to assert their supremacy in Europe, which would not have been impossible for them at this moment, though the limited extent of the country and number of their population rendered the prolonged retention of power impossible.

When the Council of Basel, soon after the arrival of Cardinal Cesarini, sent a letter (October 15, 1431) to the Bohemians, inviting them to send deputies to the Council, the proposal was on the whole favourably received. The death of Archbishop Conrad (December 1431) contributed to render the moderate utraquists, and especially the nobles of that faith, desirous of an agreement with the Pope. The archbishop had hitherto consecrated their priests, and they were now dependent on Rome, as they wished to preserve the apostolic succession of their clergy.

Very lengthy negotiations between the Bohemians and the Council now began; and they at last resulted in a compromise that procured at least temporary tranquillity.

[1] The great rejoicing and pride of the Bohemians on the occasion of this brilliant triumph appear very clearly in the Latin song of Lawrence of Brežova. He thus describes the flight of the Romanists—

"Sic isti de Bohemia
Metu palentes fugiunt
Et ignorantes, quo eunt
. . . . . .
Suntne ast isti milites
Papae, regis sathalites [*sic*]?
Non sunt viri sed feminae
Caprae fugaces misere
Imo paventes lepores
Aut exturbatae volucres."

Even a summary account of these negotiations, and of the numerous embassies sent by the Council to Prague, and by the Bohemians to Basel, would be beyond the purpose of this book. It will be sufficient to mention one or two of the most important deliberations and their final result.

It is very much to be regretted that we have but scanty information concerning the internal condition of Bohemia immediately after the great victory of Domažlice. Contemporary records contain little beyond accounts of renewed attacks on the neighbouring districts, for the commencement of the negotiations as yet involved no suspension of hostilities. Prokop the Great seems at that moment to have exercised an informal, but none the less real, dictatorship over Bohemia. All the utraquist party (more or less willingly) still recognized him as their leader. Prokop the Great is one of the most prominent characters in Bohemian history. This appears more clearly since the modern historians, beginning with Palacký, commenced to discuss the actions and characters of Žižka, Prokop, and the other leaders of the Bohemian movement as they would those of other statesmen or warriors of that age. The older writers, following the example of Aenaeas Sylvius, generally regarded them as demons or magicians who, with the aid of witchcraft and of the infernal powers, obtained victories that could not otherwise be accounted for. Prokop the Great was distinguished from the other Taborite leaders by his culture and love of literature and learning. Equal to Žižka in his enthusiasm for his nation and his creed, in force of will and in courage, he was his superior in the science of politics. Moreover, he was less of a fanatic than his predecessor. Though differing from the Church of Rome more widely than Žižka, he was more inclined to compromise, and thus sometimes incurred the suspicions of his own partisans. The whole energy of the party of advanced views—both as to religious and social reforms—was personified in this one man, and it was inevitable that the Romish party, the Calixtines (or Praguers), and the utraquist nobility should at last have united to bring about his fall.

As already mentioned, the letter of the Council of Basel proposing terms of agreement was on the whole favourably received, though there was some opposition on the part of the Taborites, Prokop the Great at first appearing undecided. A Diet was convoked by the regents at Prague in

the month of February (1432). After a long and stormy debate it was decided that the Bohemians should send envoys to Cheb, where they were to meet the delegates of the Council. A further deliberation was then to take place. The date of the meeting was fixed for April 27, but it was only on May 7 that the Bohemian envoys arrived at Cheb; among them were Prokop the Great, John of Rokycan, afterwards utraquist Archbishop of Prague, Peter Payne, commonly called "Magister Engliš," and a few utraquist knights; among the delegates of the Council were several prominent ecclesiastics. Though preliminary matters only were discussed, the debates were very stormy. The Bohemians referred to the fate of Hus at a previous Council, and Prokop the Great openly questioned the security of the safe-conduct which was to be given to the Bohemian envoys who were to proceed to Basel. He remarked that it was an ancient papal doctrine that no faith need be kept with heretics. The Bohemians finally consented—subject to the approval of the Diet—to send representatives to Basel. An agreement was drawn up, the principal points of which were a full guarantee of the personal safety of the envoys, and of the right to express their opinions freely, to censure the abuses of the Church, and to defend the four Articles (of Prague). The envoys were further promised honourable seats at the assemblies of the Council. Finally, it was stipulated that the suspension of Church services in the towns through which the envoys were to pass (required by the rules of the Church, as Bohemia was under the interdict, but resented by the Bohemians as an insult) should not be enforced.

A new assembly of the Estates of Bohemia was held at Kutna Hora in August (1432). The representatives of Bohemia at the Council were then chosen, but the Diet did not accept the proposal of a truce with the neighbouring countries which was suggested in consequence of the deliberations at Cheb. The following months were spent in negotiations for securing the safety of the Bohemian ambassadors during their long journey.

The successful resistance offered by the Bohemians to the vast Romanist armies, had not only in Germany—where hatred of the Slav is traditional—but in all Western Europe engendered a ferocious hatred of the heretics.[1] It

[1] As a proof of the intense hatred of the Bohemians that then

was therefore only after two envoys whom the Bohemians had despatched to Basel had returned safely, and given the most reassuring information, that the great embassy at last started for Basel. Among its members were most of the former envoys at Cheb. We again read the names of Prokop the Great, John of Rokycan, and "Magister Engliš." Of the secular members of the Embassy, William Kostka of Postupitz, Lord of Pürglitz, held the highest rank. The embassy consisted of fifteen members, and was accompanied by an escort of three hundred horsemen. They assembled near the town of Domazlice, whence they proceeded to the Bohemian frontier. They were here met by the German troops, who, according to agreement, were to assure their safety during their journey to Basel.

It was on the evening of January 4, 1433, that the Bohemian embassy, which had travelled from Schafhausen by water, arrived at Basel. They purposely and prudently omitted to give notice of the exact time of their arrival, but as soon as the news of their arrival spread in the town, popular excitement was very great. An eye-witness[1] tells us that the whole population, even the women and children, crowded to the house-tops and windows to watch the strange visitors, wondering at their terrific countenances and wild eyes. The gaze of all was specially fixed on Prokop the Great. The people said he was the man who had often defeated great armies of the faithful, destroyed many cities, and caused the death of thousands. They said even his countrymen feared him, and that he was an energetic, unconquered, and brave leader who knew no fear. The Bohemians were hospitably received by the authorities of the town and the members of the Council. Reciprocal banquets took place, at which the discussion was generally, though not invariably, of an amicable nature. A slight

prevailed in France, Palacký notices that the name of "Bohemians" was about this time given to the gypsies, the most despised tribe known in Western Europe. M. Svatek has more recently attempted to explain the application of this singular denomination to the gypsies by the fact that many of them arrived in Western Europe with safe-conducts signed by King Sigismund. Sigismund always retained the title of King of Bohemia, even during the time he was excluded from the government of the country. The arguments of M. Svatek (*Cultur-Historische Bildur aus Böhmen*) do not seem to me to contradict Palacký's conjecture.

[1] Aenaeus Sylvius (*Historica Bohemica*).

difficulty arose only two days after the arrival of the Bohemians. As had been agreed at Cheb, the Bohemian priests, both the Calixtines and the Taborites, celebrated their religious services according to their own rites. Curiosity induced many citizens of Basel to attend these services. They found little in the Calixtine service to gratify their curiosity, as mass was said in the ordinary way, and the only novelty was that the faithful partook of the consecrated wine. They were more astonished when they witnessed the Taborite service conducted by Prokop the Great, for he used neither altar nor vestments, and all ceremonies were suppressed. The whole service consisted of short prayers, a sermon, and the communion in both kinds, of which the whole congregation partook. The ecclesiastical authorities brought their complaints before the Bohemian ambassadors; they considered the permission given to the citizens of Basel to be present at the Hussite worship as an attempt to spread the utraquist teaching in the town. The Bohemians answered saying that they had invited no one to be present at their religious functions, and that it was not their business, but that of the authorities of the town, to prevent the citizens from attending divine service according to the Bohemian rites; the matter was then allowed to drop.

On January 10 the negotiations between the Bohemians and the Council began. It had been agreed that each of the four Articles of Prague should be discussed by one of the ecclesiastics forming part of the Bohemian mission. John of Rokycan undertook the defence of the second "article," which treated of communion in "the two kinds," and "Magister Engliš" that of the third one, which referred to the worldly possessions of the clergy. These were obviously the two most important points. After the ending of the pleading of the four Bohemian priests, four priests chosen by the Council were to reply. The proceedings opened with a touching exhortation by Cardinal Cesarini, at which all present, including the Bohemians, were moved to tears. Rokycan replied, complaining bitterly of the wrong done to his country by the aspersion of heresy that had been put upon it; he further expressed sincere hope that the whole Christian world would return to the institutions of the primitive Church. On January 16 Rokycan began his argument for the communion in two

kinds, and his speech was only brought to a conclusion at the meeting of the Council on the 19th. After Rokycan the other Bohemian ambassadors delivered their orations; the last of them, Peter Payne, finished his speech on the 28th. Some of these speeches caused great irritation among the Romanist hearers. This specially applies to Magister Payne. He praised Wycliffe and his doctrines, and alluded to the persecution that he had endured at Oxford, stating that he had been obliged to seek refuge in Bohemia. Payne was violently interrupted by the English ecclesiastics who were present, and a stormy altercation between him and them took place.

When the Bohemian priests had finished their speeches, Cardinal Cesarini caused a paper to be read enumerating twenty-eight points, or "articles" as they were called, in which the Hussite belief differed from that of the Roman Church. The Bohemians were requested to define their views with regard to these articles. This clever move on the part of the cardinal placed them in a rather difficult position, as some of these articles referred to points with regard to which no complete agreement existed between the Calixtines and the Taborites. Both parties, however, agreed that only by remaining united could they expect to obtain concessions from the Council. They therefore gave no immediate answer. A month afterwards, John of Rokycan made a statement in the name of the whole Bohemian embassy. He declared that it had been agreed at Cheb that the four Articles of Prague should form the basis of the negotiations; the Bohemians could therefore discuss no other questions till an accord as to the four Articles had been obtained.

Before Rokycan had made this statement, the four priests on the papal side had delivered their orations in answer to those of the Bohemians. Rokycan now (March 2) began his second speech in defence of the communion in both kinds, refuting the arguments of his papal antagonist. After him the other Bohemian, and then the papal orators, again spoke in the same order; it was only on April 8 that the last of these speeches came to a conclusion.

Before that date it had become evident to all that an agreement was for the moment impossible. Duke William of Bavaria, who had in the absence of the Emperor Sigismund held the position of "protector" of the Council,

induced four of the prominent Bohemians to meet privately four of the leading members of the Council. Among the latter was Cardinal Cesarini, at whose residence the discussions took place. These informal interviews did more to further the cause of peace than the lengthy display of rhetoric at the general meetings of the Council. The Bohemians were beginning to see that a general reform of the Church and a return to the order of primitive Christianity were impossibilities. The members of the Council, on the other hand, at last realized that concessions as to the all-important question of communion in both kinds were inevitable. During the interviews at Cardinal Cesarini's residence it was settled that when the Bohemian envoys, as now seemed certain, returned to their country, they should be accompanied by representatives of the Council; it would thus be possible to continue the negotiations at Prague.

The Estates of Bohemia met at Prague in June (1433), and the representatives of the Council, at whose head was Philibert, Bishop of Coutances in Normandy, were present at the deliberations. The members of the embassy, which had returned from Basel, reported to the Diet on the result of their mission. As had probably been settled at Cardinal Cesarini's residence, they announced that the Council was prepared to grant to Bohemia the right of receiving the communion in both kinds, on condition of the Bohemians returning on the Universal Church and conforming to its regulations on all other points. This proposal was, on the whole, favourably received by the Diet. The Estates, however, demanded that the communion in both kinds should be obligatory in Bohemia and Moravia, and optional in Silesia as well as in Poland, where the Hussites then had many adherents. The deputies of the Council were not prepared, and indeed probably had no authority, to grant these terms. They therefore left Prague (July 14, 1433) accompanied by the Bohemian ambassadors, who were to continue the negotiations at Basel. On arriving there the Bohemians informed the Council of the conditions of peace which their countrymen were prepared to accept. They formulated these terms in four articles that constitute (in a subsequently slightly modified form) the famed "Compacts" which up to the year 1567 were considered one of the fundamental laws of the country. The Compacts, which are

founded on the Articles of Prague, run thus: 1. The Holy Sacrament is to be given freely in both kinds to all Christians in Bohemia and Moravia, and to those elsewhere who adhere to the faith of the two countries. 2. All mortal sins shall be punished and extirpated by those whose office it is so to do. 3. The word of God is to be freely and truthfully preached by the priests of the Lord, and by worthy deacons. 4. The priests "in the time of the law of grace"[1] shall claim ownership of no worldly possessions.

The Council refused to reply to the demands of the Bohemian envoys, stating that its decision could only be made known to a general assembly of the Estates of Bohemia. The Council, therefore, again sent delegates to Prague, who travelled there together with the returning Bohemian envoys.

New internal troubles in Bohemia now for a time turned away public interest from the negotiations with the Council. The Bohemian armies had not discontinued the warlike expeditions which the still valid prohibition against trade with Bohemia indeed rendered almost a necessity. We find one of the Bohemian armies fighting as allies of Poland against the Knights of the Teutonic Order, in the vicinity of the Baltic Sea. At this moment, however, the Hussites concentrated all their efforts on the capture of the town of Plzeň; they naturally attached great importance to the possession of this considerable Bohemian town, which was still in the hands of the papal party. The most important point in the negotiations with the Council was whether communion in both kinds should be optional or obligatory in Bohemia, and it was difficult to demand the latter alternative as long as the Catholic town of Plzeň remained unconquered. A large army under Prokop the Great therefore began to besiege the city about July (1433). It was noted that the utraquist nobles no longer joined Prokop's forces.

The envoys of the Council reached Prague in the autumn

[1] This may be shortly interpreted as signifying "henceforth." Before acceptation by the Roman Church this article was qualified by an explanatory note stating that priests and monks should not own hereditary estates, and that the priests as "administrators" of the property of the Church should manage it faithfully, according to the injunctions of the Holy Father.

(1433). They earnestly advised the Bohemians to accept the conditions which the Council had authorized them to offer. Though this had been kept secret from the Bohemian envoys, the delegates of the Council had been authorized by it to accept the communion in both kinds as permissible, and even to consent to the other Articles of Prague in a modified form. The influence of the delegates, particularly on the more aristocratic section of the utraquist party, was evidently very considerable; probably through the influence of the utraquist nobles a considerable number of the clergy were induced to accept the Compacts in the modified form suggested by the delegates of the Council. But the agreement, which seemed on the point of success, again failed. The Taborites from the first were opposed to the proposals of the Council, and the opinions of the Calixtine clergy were divided. One party, headed by Magister Přibram, was strongly in favour of peace, and of accepting the Compacts in a modified form. Přibram even declared that all further strife was a mortal sin. On the other hand, many Calixtine priests, under the leadership of John of Rokycan, strongly opposed the system of an optional communion in the two kinds. Rokycan declared that the system of administering communion in both kinds, and in one and the same place, and even in the same church, would prove a cause of constant discord. It was on this point that the negotiations finally failed, and the delegates of the Council left Prague (January 14, 1434). Before starting, they urgently exhorted some of the utraquist nobles with whom they had become intimate to take a more active part in the politics of their country, and to use their influence in favour of a future agreement with the Church of Rome.

The formerly powerful Bohemian nobility had indeed, since the departure of Prince Korybut, played a very insignificant part, the Hussite movement having acquired a more and more democratic character. This was felt by many nobles, and the desire among them became general—were they but assured of the freedom to retain the revered chalice—to act in union with the papal nobles and suppress the turbulent democracy of Tabor. Before the departure of the envoys of the Council, the Estates had decided on electing a regent, who was to rule the country with the aid of a council of twelve members.

Aleš of Riesenburg, a member of one of the oldest families of the nobility, was chosen to fill this difficult post. The occurrences in the camp before Plzeň at this moment contributed to bring matters to a crisis. The siege, which lasted several months, demoralized the Taborite soldiers, who ravaged the whole neighbouring country. Prokop the Great, who attempted to maintain order in his camp, was attacked by his own soldiers, and throwing up his command, he retired to Prague. Perhaps encouraged by this event, several nobles, with the approval of the regent, now formed a league "for the restoration of peace and order in the country." The league was joined by all the prominent utraquist lords, and somewhat later also by those of the papal party. The citizens of the old town (Staré Město) of Prague, who, as already noticed, constituted the conservative element in the town, also adhered to the league. The leaders of the league addressed an appeal to the Estates of Bohemia, calling on them to join the new coalition.

The first conflict took place at Prague. The citizens of the Staré Město, aided by the nobles, subdued the Nové Město, which had refused to join the league. Prokop unsuccessfully attempted to aid the citizens of the new town. Since he had been illtreated by his own soldiers he seemed, as Palacký writes, to have lost his self-confidence and the keenness of his intellect. The foreboding of his tragic fate and the helplessness of the cause which he defended no doubt overwhelmed him. He wrote, however, to the priest Prokůpek (Prokop the Less), who now commanded the troops before Plzeň, saying that "with the permission of God the false barons, aided by the burghers of the old town, had defeated the brethren of the new town." Prokop the Great therefore begged him to raise the siege of Plzeň and march with all his troops in the direction of Prague. Prokůpek acceded to his wishes, and the leader of the Orphans joined his forces to the troops of Prokop the Great and of the other leaders of Tabor. The combined forces then retired in a direction eastward of Prague.

Both the contending parties now gathered all their forces together, in view of what all foresaw would prove a decisive battle. The army of the nobles was now joined by almost the whole nobility of Bohemia, from the unflinching partisans of Rome to the most faithful Hussites, many of whom had

fought under Žižka. The towns of Prague, Plzeň, and Melnik were the only ones that cast in their lot with the nobles. On the other hand, the army of the towns, as it was called, besides the men of Tabor, Kralové Hradec, and the minor Taborite and Orphan communities, contained the levies of almost all the Bohemian cities, with the exception of those mentioned above. A few knights and nobles, of whom John Roháč, Lord of Duba, and John Kolda, Lord of Žampach, were the most important, also remained faithful to Tabor.

It was on the wide plain that extends between Kouřim and Český Brod, near the centre of which lies the village of Lipany, that the world-old struggle between aristocracy and democracy was now once again fought out.[1] The army of the towns was led by the two Prokops, Roháč of Duba, Kolda of Žampach and other chiefs of the Orphans and Taborites. The nobles were commanded by Bořek of Miletinek, an experienced general who had formerly served under Žižka's orders. With him were the Regent Aleš of Riesenburg; George of Poděbrad, the future king; Ulrich of Rosenberg, leader of the papal party, and almost the whole nobility of Bohemia. Their army was about 25,000 men strong, whilst the Taborites and townsmen, weakened by many defections, only numbered 18,000 men. Both armies formed behind the wagon-entrenchments, or "lagers," which were then so important a feature in Bohemian warfare.

The battle (May 30, 1434) was won by Miletinek by a stratagem. He ordered the van of his army, which was probably drawn up in front of the wagon-entrenchment, to simulate flight. The Taborites, perhaps rendered imprudent by their many victories, left their entrenchments, rushing out to pursue the flying foe. They were immediately attacked by the horsemen of Ulrich of Rosenberg and put to flight. While hastening back to their entrenchments they were attacked by the rest of the army of the nobles, who succeeded in penetrating into their "lager" at the same time as the fugitives. The battle now became a massacre, which continued through the whole night until the following

[1] Many detailed accounts of this great battle have reached us; they are, however, very contradictory. The picturesque account of Aenaeas Sylvius is too evidently an imitation of classical authors in the manner fashionable at the time of the Renaissance.

morning. It must be considered as the extermination rather than as the defeat of the Taborites; 13,000 of the men perished in the battle, and several hundred prisoners were cruelly burnt to death in the huts in which they had been temporarily shut up.[1] A small detachment only escaped. Prokop the Great, Prokop the Less (Prokůpek) and most of the other leaders fell in this battle. "Thus these Bohemians could only be conquered by other Bohemians; they who had proved themselves invincible to all Germans, and had spread the terror and the glory of their name through the whole world."[2] Though of course many Taborites still remained, yet Palacký is undoubtedly right in dating "the fall of Tabor" from the battle of Lipany rather than from the capture of the town itself (which only took place in 1542).

The more warlike among the men of Tabor mostly left their country. They became mercenaries in the service of foreign countries, especially in Hungary, and the Ukraine and other border-lands between Russia and Poland; the Cossacks in these districts are said to have learnt and adopted the system of warfare of the Taborites. The more peaceful and pious Taborites, despairing altogether of the world in which their religious views no longer prevailed, retired to secluded spots, where they gave themselves up entirely to prayers and devotion. They not inconsiderably contributed to the foundation of the sect of the "Bohemian Brethren" (Moravians)[3] which arose about this time.

The complete defeat of the more advanced party in Bohemia was naturally followed by a reaction which en

[1] The people of Bohemia long refused to believe in the death of the Taborites, and maintained that they were in hiding in a cave in the mountain Blanik, whence they were expected some day to reappear to save Bohemia in her moment of greatest peril.

[2] Bienenberg, *Geschichte der Stadt Königgrätz*.

[3] The connection of the Taborites with the Bohemian Brethren was long a disputed point in Bohemian history; all recent Bohemian historians, however, maintain its existence. Professor Goll (*Quellen zur Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder*) tells us that the Brethren did not wish to be considered as continuators of the Taborites. They protested against this theory with a degree of energy which was not justified by the facts of the case. I have preferred to call the new sect "Bohemian Brethren" rather than "Moravians," as the former denomination is alone used by German and Bohemian writers; their doctrines were also not in all points identical with those of the sect now known as the Moravians.

tended both to political and to ecclesiastical affairs; and the reconciliation with the papal Church, together with the general acceptation of Emperor Sigismund as king, became certain from the moment of the battle of Lipany. A meeting of the Estates of Bohemia and Moravia took place only three weeks after the battle. A truce was concluded between the utraquists and the papal party, and it was decided to negotiate with Sigismund, with a view to his assumption of the government of the country. It was further decided to send a deputation to Regensburg, where the Emperor then resided, and where he had been joined by representatives of the Council.

Sigismund received the Bohemian ambassadors (August 1434) very graciously. He assured them that he was no stranger, and that he considered himself a Bohemian and a citizen of Prague. He recalled to them his descent in the female line from the man whom their ancestors had once called away from the plough to their throne,[1] and referred to the fact that his father's (the Emperor Charles's) name was still revered by high and low in their country. A complete agreement was not obtained at Regensburg, though the only disputed point now was the question to what extent communion in both kinds should in future be permissible in Bohemia and Moravia. The Bohemian representatives declared that they wished to be in full accord with their king before negotiating with the Council. For this purpose the Estates again met (October 1434) at Prague. The utraquists here made further concessions. It had become evident to them that communion in the two kinds could not be forced on the adherents of the papal party in Bohemia. The Estates therefore decided to ascertain in what form communion was at that moment administered in all the parochial and other churches of Bohemia, and to propose that this should be the rule for the future.

The Estates further demanded that the Archbishop of Prague and his suffragans should, according to the old institutions of the land, be elected by the Estates and the clergy, subject to the sanction of the king; they claimed, finally, that no Church livings in Bohemia or Moravia should be conferred on foreigners. These demands were transmitted to the Council, and it was settled that a new deputation of the Estates should meet the king and the

[1] Přemysl: see Chap. II.

representatives of the Council at Brno[1] for further negotia tions. This meeting only took place in July 1435.

Fresh difficulties here arose, especially with regard to th nomination of a new Archbishop of Prague. The envoy of the Council even made preparations to return to Basel They were at the last moment prevented from doing so b the efforts of Sigismund, who had already arrived at a agreement with his future subjects on almost all points The Emperor even went so far as to sign a document b which he promised to lend the Bohemians his aid in main taining the existing form of communion as proposed by th last Diet at Prague, and the right of electing the Archbisho of Prague and his suffragans. An immediate agreemen with the representatives of the Council appearing impossible further negotiations were deferred till a new meeting of th Diet took place at Prague (Sept. 1435). At this assembl the Estates unanimously elected John of Rokycan Arch bishop of Prague. Sigismund was informed of this election but an agreement still seemed far off. The Emperor ha about this time given a verbal assurance to the envoys c the Council that he would not interfere in ecclesiastica matters; he thus practically cancelled the promises whic he had made to the Bohemians. The latter, on the othe hand, declined to accept the Compacts in the modifie form suggested by the Council till Rokycan had bee recognized as Archbishop of Prague both by the Emperc and by the Roman Church. Another meeting betwee the Bohemians and the Romanist envoys at Jihlava[2] i Moravia in June 1436. The representatives of the Counc still refused to ratify the election of Rokycan. They suggeste that Bishop Philibert of Coutances, who had formerly bee sent by the Council as envoy to Bohemia, should act pr visionally as Archbishop of Prague. This proposal greatl incensed the Bohemians. The promises of Sigismund an his son-in-law, Albert of Austria, that they would use a their influence to obtain the recognition of Rokycan by th Roman Church to a certain extent pacified the Bohemian particularly as the feeling in favour of peace was constant becoming stronger in Bohemia. On July 5, 1436, th Bohemian deputies at last solemnly accepted and subscribe the Compacts, with the not very important modificatio on which the Council of Basel had insisted. The repr

[1] In German "Brünn." [2] In German "Iglau."

sentatives then rescinded the decree of excommunication against the Bohemians, declared them to be faithful sons of the Church, and proclaimed peace between Bohemia and the other nations.

Immediately afterwards Sigismund issued a decree confirming all the ancient rights of Bohemia. The regent Aleš of Riesenburg resigned his office, and Sigismund was recognized as King of Bohemia by all the Estates of the country. Sigismund, now undisputed sovereign of the land, made his entry into Prague on August 23, 1436. He was enthusiastically received by the people, who now at last hoped for more peaceful times.

King Sigismund was already sixty-eight years old when he at last secured the possession of the kingdom. He was only to reign over Bohemia for a few months.

This period of comparative tranquillity, after so many eventful years, may be passed over with very slight notice. Sigismund's policy, though as reactionary as circumstances permitted, was rendered cautious by his experiences. When the necessary redistribution of the principal offices of State and court took place, Sigismund attempted to exclude all who were not either Romanists, or belonged to that part of the utraquist party which was nearest to Rome. His views with regard to heretics probably differed little from those he had expressed at Constance many years before, but he was thoroughly aware of the importance of avoiding a new outbreak of hostilities. The towns of Tabor and Kralové Hradec, still held by the advanced party, were pacified by treaties which guaranteed to them a certain amount of autonomy. Of the few opponents of the new king, John Roháč, Lord of Duba, was especially remarkable. Even after the submission of the town of Kralové Hradec he continued a guerilla warfare, the centre of which was the castle of "Sion"—a name which, like Tabor, Oreb, and so many others, shows how great was the effect of the recently acquired right of studying the Scriptures. After a lengthy siege, Roháč of Duba was obliged to capitulate unconditionally. He and his followers were afterwards publicly executed on the market-place of the old town (Staroměstské Náměsti) at Prague. This injudicious severity caused great indignation in Bohemia, and was probably the principal cause of the renewed troubles during the last months of Sigismund's life. Among others, John Kolda,

Lord of Žampach, one of the few nobles who still adhered to the party of Tabor, again took up arms and forcibly obtained possession of the town of Nachod.

More important than these local disturbances was the difficulty with regard to the appointment of an Archbishop of Prague. As already mentioned, John of Rokycan had been elected by the Estates, but neither the Pope nor the Council had confirmed his election. Philibert, Bishop of Coutances, also resided in Prague, in an undefined capacity, but with the secret approval of King Sigismund. The king's attitude in this matter was not free from the accusation of double-dealing. "Publicly Sigismund wrote to the Council recommending it to confirm Rokycan's nomination as archbishop; secretly, he advised the contrary."[1]

Though no settlement of this difficult question was arrived at, the long-expected sanction of the "Compacts" by the Council of Basel at last reached Prague (Feb. 1437). By order of Sigismund a decree was read out in the Bohemian, Latin, Hungarian, and German languages, in the "Corpus Christi" Chapel at Prague, declaring "that the Bohemians and Moravians who received the flesh and blood of God in both kinds were true Christians, and genuine sons of the Church." Two inscriptions on stone were placed in the chapel to commemorate this important event.[2]

Towards the end of the year (1437) Sigismund became seriously ill, and perhaps feeling that his end was near, decided to return to Hungary. He had already expressed the wish to be interred in that country, at Grosswardin, in a vault which had been specially prepared. His one remaining anxiety was to secure the succession to the Bohemian throne to his son-in-law Albert of Austria. The claim of Albert was founded on the treaty concluded by the Emperor Charles, according to which the houses of Luxemburg and Habsburg had reciprocally recognized each other as heirs, should one or the other line become extinct. Sigismund hoped to realize his object more surely if he could establish Albert as ruler of Bohemia during his lifetime. This appeared to him all the more necessary in consequence of the intrigues of his consort, the Empress Barbara. During

[1] Tomek.

[2] The Corpus Christi Chapel was demolished in 1798. The tablets containing the inscription mentioned above are preserved in the Bohemian Museum at Prague.

the Emperor's journey to Hungary his illness rapidly increased, and he died at Znoymo, December 9, 1437, before arriving in Hungary.

Contrary to the apprehensions of Sigismund in his last days, Albert, Duke of Austria, obtained the recognition of his right to the throne of Bohemia without much opposition. This is the more worthy of notice as Albert had never made a secret of his sympathy with the Germans. Even during the years when he governed Moravia in the name of his father-in-law, he had refused to learn the Bohemian language. He thus naturally gave offence to the people on a point where the national susceptibility is perhaps none the less keen because the range of the national language is somewhat limited. He therefore appeared to the Bohemians, to use the words of Palacký, "as the representative of that evil spirit which always claimed for the German a certain superiority over the Slav, and in fact despised everything that was Slavonic."

Albert was not able to proceed to Bohemia immediately after the death of Sigismund. He was detained by negotiations as to the succession to the crowns of Germany and Hungary, which had also become vacant by the death of his father-in-law. Having succeeded in obtaining his recognition as king by the Hungarians, and having also been chosen as king of the German Electors, Albert arrived in Bohemia in April (1438). Sigismund had during his short reign done everything to facilitate the succession of his son-in-law.

The most prominent offices in the State were held by Ulrich of Rosenberg, always an unswerving adherent of the Roman cause, and by Menhard of Jindřichův Hradec, who, though an utraquist, was entirely devoted to Sigismund and Albert. The more advanced Hussites—whose intellectual leader was Archbishop John of Rokycan—at first recognized Bořek of Miletinek, the victor of Lipany, as their chief. He had endeared himself to them by affording a refuge to the archbishop when he believed himself menaced by Sigismund. When Miletinek died in January 1438 Ptáček, Lord of Pirkstein, became the leader of the more advanced utraquists; this party, probably influenced as much by national as by religious motives, wished to confer the kingdom of Bohemia on a prince of Slav nationality. Their choice fell on Casimir, younger brother of Vladislav III, King of Poland.

Albert's partisans, who held the more important Statt offices, thought that delay would weaken the chances o their candidate. They therefore promptly assembled th Estates at Prague, and they elected Albert as king after h had promised to maintain the Compacts. Albert's coronat tion as King of Bohemia followed immediately afterward (June 29, 1438). The party which acknowledged Ptàče as its leader disputed the validity of Albert's election, an still wished to secure the throne to Casimir of Polan King Vladislav gave his sanction to the candidature of hi brother, and sent a Polish army to Bohemia to assist hi partisans. Albert, on the other hand, obtained aid fro Hungary and Austria. Many German princes also assiste him. Albert had warned them that if they had not bee able to conquer the Bohemians alone, during the late wa the danger for Germany would be yet far greater were th Bohemians united under a common dynasty with a cognat nation like that of the Poles.

The war that now broke out was of little importance an short duration. Eastern Europe was at that momen seriously menaced by the Turks. Pope Eugenius IV an the Council of Basel therefore earnestly entreated th Bohemians and Poles to abandon their internal dissension and to arm against the infidels. Albert, as King of Hun gary, was more than any other European sovereign expose to the danger of Turkish invasion. As a complete recon ciliation between him and the King of Poland did not seen possible, a truce between the two sovereigns was agree upon at Breslau (January 1439). Albert then repaired t Southern Hungary, which the Turks, who had alread invaded Servia, were preparing to attack. The climate o those countries, to which he was not accustomed, seriousl affected his health. Albert fell dangerously ill from dysen tery, and decided to return to Vienna. During his journe through Hungary he died (October 27, 1439).

The unexpected death of Albert left Bohemia in a stat of anarchy. There was for the moment no heir to th throne, though it was known that Queen Elizabeth, wife o Albert, would shortly give birth to a child. The nobilit were divided into two parties. The one, the utraquist (o as Palacký, in dealing with this period, calls it, the nation party) recognized as its leaders Ptàček of Pirkstein an George of Poděbrad. Ulrich of Rosenberg was still th

leader of the Romanist, or Austrian party. The anarchical state of the country, harassed by innumerable local feuds, which it would be wearisome to enumerate, had one advantageous result. Both parties, when they met at a Diet at Prague, were in favour of a peaceful agreement. The terms of this agreement, which were formulated in a document known as the "Letter of Peace" ("List mirny"), included the acceptation of the Compacts, and the recognition of the validity of the election of Archbishop John of Rokycan. The Diet further pledged itself to secure by all means the recognition of Archbishop John by the Papal See. It was further decreed that all documents signed or donations made by King Albert which were injurious to the rights of the Bohemian crown, or of those nobles who had been opposed to Albert, should be invalid. The terms of the "Letter of Peace" were obviously very favourable to the national party, which probably was already by far the more powerful. The only advantage obtained by the Austrian party was that the question of the candidature of the Polish prince was not raised; the national party, for reasons that do not clearly appear, no longer regarded that candidature with as much favour as before.

On February 22, 1440, Queen Elizabeth gave birth to a son, who received the name of Ladislas, and who became the rightful ruler of the land according to the views of those who maintained the hereditary character of the Bohemian throne. Various intrigues and the animosity of the contending parties retarded the recognition of Ladislas. The Bohemian crown was even offered to Albert, Duke of Bavaria, but declined by him. Even after this refusal, and after the Bohemians had decided to accept Ladislas as their king, new difficulties arose. Frederick of Habsburg, Duke of Styria, who had been elected king by the Germans, claimed the guardianship of his nephew, and he even refused to allow the infant king to be conveyed to Bohemia.

After the death of Ptáček of Pirkstein, George of Poděbrad, son of Victorin of Poděbrad, who had commanded the Praguers during the former wars, was chosen as leader by the national party. From the moment that George of Poděbrad became the head of the national party, its policy assumed a more decided and energetic character. The struggle now became a contest for the supremacy in Bohemia between the two party-leaders, George of Podě-

brad and Ulrich of Rosenberg. In the year 1446 a great meeting of the Estates took place at Prague. It was one of those assemblies known in Bohemian history as a "General Diet" at which representatives not only of Bohemia but also of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia (all which countries at that period formed part of what are technically known as the lands of the Bohemian crown) were present. This Diet is of importance in the constitutional history of Bohemia. We here, for the first time, find the Estates clearly divided into three chambers (known as "curiae,") namely, the lords, knights, and citizens. The "curiae" deliberated separately, and only met with a final decision. The resolutions of this Diet were similar to those of previous assemblies since the death of Albert. Complaints were again raised against the detention of Ladislas, who, it was said, was being brought up as a stranger to the country over which he was destined to rule. An attempt to establish a regency failed. The country indeed remained without any regular government, as the authority of Menhard of Jindřichův Hradec on whom Sigismund had conferred the dignity of supreme burgrave—the highest office in the country—was not universally recognized.

The Diet further complained of the refusal of the Papal See to recognize Archbishop John. It also accused the Romanists of secret agitations against the Compacts. It was also decided that a new embassy should be sent to Rome, a mission which resulted in a complete failure. The Papal See even withdrew from the attitude of toleration which it had formerly assumed with regard to the Compacts. The only promise which Pope Nicholas V (who had now succeeded Eugenius IV) made was that he would send Cardinal Carvajal as legate to Bohemia to inquire into the state of affairs of the country. The steps which the Diet took to secure the residence of Ladislas in Bohemia were also ineffectual. When the German King Frederick heard that the Bohemian Estates intended to send an embassy to Vienna for this purpose, he immediately wrote to them declaring that he entirely refused his sanction to the departure of Ladislas.

George of Poděbrad probably decided to appeal to armed force soon after the termination of the Diet of 1446. He believed this to be the only means of ending the anarchy from which Bohemia was suffering. His adherents began

to arm about this time. Poděbrad seems to have had evidence [1] that the efforts of the Bohemian negotiators both at Rome and at Vienna had been secretly opposed by the Austrian party, and especially by Ulrich of Rosenberg. The national party decided, however, to await the result of the mission of Cardinal Carvajal. The cardinal arrived at Prague (May 1, 1448), but his mission proved a complete failure; he made no secret of his conviction that the Pope would never give his sanction to the election of Archbishop John of Rokycan. The cardinal also openly expressed his disapproval of communion in the two kinds, a rite which almost all Bohemians still revered as the great privilege they had obtained at the cost of so much blood. Questioned as to the Compacts, he denied all knowledge of them. George of Poděbrad, who had in his custody the original of this precious document, therefore forwarded it to him. When, upon the failure of his mission, the cardinal left Prague shortly afterwards, his departure caused a great outcry among the townspeople. They accused him of having carried away the original of the famous Compacts and threatened him with the fate of Hus. The cardinal was stopped on his journey by horsemen, but was on his entreaty allowed to proceed as far as Benešov; he here returned the Compacts, which he had hidden among the luggage of his carriage.

Thus the sole result of the mission of Carvajal was to embitter yet more the contending parties in Bohemia. George of Poděbrad, secure of his allies, who had sworn to devote their lives and their fortunes to his cause, no longer hesitated to act. He assembled near Kutna Hora an army of 9000 men, which was afterwards reinforced by troops from his adherents in Northern Bohemia. With these forces Poděbrad marched on Prague, before which city he arrived (1448). He obtained possession of the town almost without resistance; the citizens indeed received him with enthusiasm. The supreme burgrave Menhard of Jindřichův Hradec, who appears to have been a mere puppet in the hands of Ulrich of Rosenberg, was imprisoned. New city magistrates were chosen by the people of Prague, and John of Rokycan, disregarding the authority of Rome, assumed the functions of archbishop.

[1] Palacký clearly proves this, quoting from the correspondence of Ulrich of Rosenberg.

This step on the part of Poděbrad led to civil war, for which he was no doubt prepared. Ulrich, son of Menhard of Jindřichův Hradec, demanded the liberation of his father, and both he and Ulrich of Rosenberg declined Poděbrad's proposal that a Diet at Prague should mediate between them. The lords belonging to the Austrian party even contracted an alliance with Kolda, Lord of Žampach, and the few other remaining Taborites, against the national party. Desultory warfare—twice for a short time interrupted by negotiations—broke out in various parts of Bohemia, and continued up to the year 1451. Rosenberg, Ulrich of Jindřichův Hradec, and other lords of the Austrian party formed a confederacy opposed to that of Poděbrad. This confederacy was, from the name of the town in which it was concluded, known as the league of Strakonic. The lords of the league denounced the national party as the cause of the new troubles, and called on the Bohemian towns to join their own confederacy.[1] The result of this local warfare—during which hardly any important engagements took place—was almost invariably favourable to the party of Poděbrad. Rosenberg gradually retired from the contest, and everything seemed to point to the regency of George of Poděbrad.

King Frederick, before starting for Rome to be crowned as Emperor, in his capacity as guardian of King Ladislas entrusted Poděbrad with the administration of Bohemia (October 1451). Frederick at the same time, by a singular agreement, made over the government of Hungary to Matthew Corvinus. He undoubtedly hoped thus to secure tranquillity in these two turbulent countries during his expedition to Italy. A Diet which assembled at Prague in the same year (1451) at last formally conferred on Poděbrad the regency which he had *de facto* exercised during the last four years.

The negotiations with the Papal See concerning the recognition of John of Rokycan as Archbishop of Prague

[1] See the letter (published by Bachmann, *Urkenden zur Geschicht Oesterreichs im Zeitalter Kaiser Frederichs III und König Georg's vo Böhmen*), addressed to the citizens of Cheb by the lords of Strakonitz informing them that "unfortunately in our land lately great discor and ill-will have sprung up through some of the lords of Bohemia, and begging them, "as they at all times gladly served the crown Bohemia," to send a contingent to join the troops of the confederacy.

and the sanction of the Compacts had continued meanwhile. Pope Nicholas now openly opposed them, and the conviction that an agreement with Rome was impossible gradually gained ground in Bohemia. This conviction led many Bohemians to contemplate a union with the Eastern Church. The details of this movement are unfortunately very obscure. It seems almost certain that Archbishop John, though he did not oppose it, was not its originator. There is great probability in favour of Palacký's suggestion that the monks of the Slav monastery founded by Charles IV, who, having immediately accepted communion in both kinds, remained unmolested during the Hussite wars, advised negotiations with Constantinople. The negotiator, Constantinus Angelicus, probably a Greek, is entirely unknown to us. The only reference to him is contained in the letter which the Church of Constantinople addressed (1452) "to the priests and princes of Bohemia," and Constantinus seems to have had no credentials from Prague. In this letter the Church of Constantinople expressed its pleasure at hearing that the Bohemians were treading the path of truth, and that they were opposed to the dangerous innovations of Rome. Hope was expressed that through the mediation of the Holy Gospel, the truest of all authorities, the Bohemians would unite with "the Church of Christ" (the Eastern Church). The letter further states that though they (the Church of Constantinople) had formerly believed that the Bohemians were opposed, not to the innovations of Rome, but to the old traditions of the Universal Church, they had now (through Constantinus Angelicus) found that the Bohemians had returned to the original Christian faith, and were anxiously seeking their true mother-Church. The utraquist Consistory of Prague answered (Sept. 29, 1452) by a letter which they addressed to the Emperor Constantine Palaeologus, the Patriarch, and to the whole Greek Church.[1] In this letter the Consistory expressed gratitude to God for having enlightened the minds of the Bohemians, and shown them the way to return to the primitive Church. In Bohemia — it continued — simony, pride, and avarice are unknown among the clergy, and all the arts of Antichrist are detested by the people. "Even when Antichrist, enraged against us, attacked us, burnt our

[1] Both these letters are printed in full in Palacký's *Geschichte von Böhmen.*

brethren, and sent out innumerable armies for our destruction, God Himself fought for us and drove the enemies from our frontier." The letter concluded with an expression of hope that the Eastern Church would continue to show favour and love to Bohemia. The fall of Constantinople in the following year (1453) put an end to these negotiations, which may well be thought to have attracted too little attention in our days.

The activity of theological speculation did not decrease in Bohemia with the end of the Hussite wars. With the possible exception of England at the time of the Commonwealth, there never was a country where theology possessed the all-absorbing interest that we notice in Bohemia at this period. Numerous small sects sprang up which had mostly only an ephemeral existence, and require no notice. The foundation of the Church of the Bohemian Brethren, or Moravians, which had already been alluded to, is an exception. This sect, which came into existence about this time, gradually increased in importance, and at a later period—the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century—played a not inconsiderable part in Bohemian history. The intellectual originator of the "Unity" of the Bohemian Brethren, though he founded no sect,[1] was a layman of the name of Peter Chelčicky, as to whom even the laborious researches of recent years have yielded us little information. The year of his birth was probably some time before the beginning of the fifteenth century.[2] As it is likely that his latest writings are not of earlier date than the year 1443, he must have lived through the whole stirring period of the Hussite wars. The horrors of that time may have confirmed him in his most original doctrine, the one most completely opposed to the spirit of his age—that is, his belief in the absolute and unconditional sinfulness of bloodshed.[3] He shared with most reformers of that period the desire to return to the primitive Church

[1] Palacký (*Böhmische Geschichte*), Gindely (*Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder*), and more recently Dr. Jaroslav Goll (*Quellen zur Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder*), have examined the conflicting evidence as to the foundation of the "Unity." The last-named work is to a great extent founded on unprinted documents in the archives of Herrenhut, the present centre of the Moravian community.

[2] Dr. Goll.

[3] Dr. Goll quotes a passage from one of his works in which he calls Judas Macchabaeus "the Great Murderer."

and, as did the Waldenses,[1] dated the beginning of the ecclesiastical corruption from the—imaginary—donation of the Emperor Constantine to Pope Sylvester. His views with regard to the Sacrament of the Altar—the point on which all religious controversy in Bohemia in the fifteenth century turned—were opposed to those of the Taborites, with whom he sympathized on some points. Chelčicky denied that the tenets of the priests of Tabor on this subject coincided with those of Wycliffe. He seems to have considered that the English divine, rather than Hus, was his own teacher. Chelčicky believed himself in accord with Wycliffe in maintaining the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament.[2]

From the very scanty and contradictory notices of Chelčicky's life, we learn that he made the acquaintance of Rokycan, probably during the long period 1437–1448, beginning in the reign of King Sigismund, when the archbishop had absented himself from Prague. We are told that they once met and conversed "on the men who are called priests, and on the slight advantage they conferred on men."[3] The archbishop seems to have been impressed by the words of Chelčicky. After his return to Prague (1448), Rokycan's preaching assumed a more earnest and more impassioned tone. Grieved by the reaction against Hussitism, which he feared would be the consequence of the accession of King Ladislas, he returned to the views of the earliest Bohemian reformers. He proclaimed that true religion was extinct, and that the influence of Antichrist showed itself even in the administration of the Holy Sacrament. Among Rokycan's hearers was a young man known to us as Brother Gregory, who was a nephew of the archbishop. He was deeply impressed by his uncle's teaching, and appealed to him for spiritual advice. The archbishop—preparing the way for events

[1] The question whether the doctrines of Chelčicky and Brother Gregory were derived from the Waldenses, and whether Waldensian priests consecrated the first priest of the "Unity," is one of the most controverted points in Bohemian history. On the whole, evidence is rather against the influence of the Waldenses on the foundation of the "Unity," though there may have been a connection between the two sects later.

[2] Goll: "Peter Chelčicky und seine Lehre" (Pt. ii. of the *Quellen zur Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder*).

[3] Goll.

he afterwards regretted—lent him copies of several of Chelčicky's writings. Gregory's enthusiasm became even more inflamed, and he and his friends decided to entirely withdraw from the corrupt world, and to retire into solitude. Rokycan did not discourage this plan, though he refused to join the enthusiasts. The archbishop indeed, after the death of Ladislas (1457), became more moderate in his tone, and assumed a more conciliatory attitude towards the Roman Church. Rokycan, however, obtained a refuge for Brother Gregory in the remote village of Kunwald, near the small town of Žamberk.[1] Gregory was here joined by other pious men, among whom were Michael, curate of Žamberk, and the priest Matthew. An attempt to organize the new religious association was soon made. Michael, who on insufficient evidence is said to have been ordained by a Waldensian bishop, confirmed the priest Matthew as head of the brotherhood, probably after he had been chosen as such by the Brethren. The most noticeable characteristics of the Union are, according to Palacký, first, that they attached more importance to the practice of Christianity than to the Christian doctrine; secondly, that piety and common-sense, with them, always appeared as acting in accord,[2] and thirdly, that the idea of Church reform from the first occupied a prominent place in their teaching. About the end of the fifteenth century a division took place among the Brethren. Two parties, known as the "Great" and the "Small" party, were formed. As far as we can judge, the "Small" party, which soon became extinct, maintained in its entirety the teaching of Chelčicky, which included doctrines such as non-resistance to evil-doers and, probably, a community of goods founded on the example of the primitive Church. The "Great" party, on the other hand, accommodated its teaching to a certain extent to temporal ideas. Starting from a very humble origin, the "Unity" was gradually joined by men of all classes, even by members of the Bohemian nobility. The "Great" party reconciled itself with the world, and by partly abandoning its earliest principles secured the future existence of the "Unity."[3]

[1] In German, "Senftenberg."

[2] This, of course, refers to the superstitious practices then so prevalent in the Roman Church.

[3] Goll.

George of Poděbrad did not long remain uncontested Regent of Bohemia. Ulrich of Rosenberg and other lords of the Austrian party, as well as the towns of Tabor and Budějovice, had not been represented at the Diet which conferred that dignity on George. In July (1452) we find Poděbrad again at war with his old antagonists. The most interesting event in this petty campaign was the capture of the town of Tabor, which, curiously enough, was at last subdued by a utraquist, not by a Romanist, chief. Poděbrad treated the citizens graciously, but he forcibly established the moderate utraquist (or Calixtine) church-service in the town. The priest Venceslas Koranda, one of the chiefs of the Taborites, was by order of Poděbrad imprisoned in the castle of Litice. After the capture of Tabor, Poděbrad besieged Ulrich of Rosenberg in one of his castles, and forced that noble to capitulate. Ulrich and his partisans now recognized Poděbrad as regent.[1] In the following year a new Diet met at Prague (in October), when Ladislas was solemnly received as King of Bohemia. It was declared, however—though not without some opposition from the Austrian party—that Ladislas had been elected as king only on the condition of his recognizing the privileges of the country. Protracted negotiations to secure the arrival in Bohemia and the coronation of the new king now ensued. These negotiations at first took place at Vienna,[2] but were at last brought to a favourable issue by an interview between Poděbrad and the Austrian guardians of the young king which was held at Znoymo (1453). Ladislas solemnly recognized all the privileges of Bohemia, including the venerated Compacts. He also, being too young to govern, confirmed the powers the Diet had conferred on George of Poděbrad. The king at last arrived in Bohemia in October (1453), and on the 28th of that month was crowned at Prague as King of Bohemia.

Very little need be said of the few years during which Ladislas reigned over Bohemia. In consequence of the strong administration of Poděbrad, who at first was on

[1] I have omitted the intervention of Poděbrad in the internal struggles in Austria, as of little direct influence on the events in Bohemia.

[2] According to Palacký, the young king was at first strongly opposed to the religious views of the Bohemians; he even said, "If the Bohemians desire me for their king, let them be Christians and profess the same faith as I do."

terms of great friendship with his youthful sovereign, the country enjoyed comparative quiet. Poděbrad succeeded in inducing the young king to learn the Bohemian language; but he seems to have retained a dislike to the people, which was probably founded on the religious teaching which he had received from his earliest preceptors. In January (1456) Ladislas proceeded to Hungary. The danger menacing Eastern Europe from the Turks, who in 1453 had taken Constantinople, and the wish to assert his authority in a country which—though he was nominally king—was in fact subject to the absolute control of John Hunyady, were the probable motives of Ladislas. The king returned to Bohemia in September of the following year, and was enthusiastically received by the people. "Archbishop Rokycan, at the head of his clergy, also met the king, who received him with a stern countenance and only returned his salute on Poděbrad's admonition: this conduct enraged many, but they suppressed their indignation."

It had at this time been arranged to marry Ladislas to Magdalen, daughter of Charles VII, King of France, and a sumptuous Bohemian embassy set out for Paris to demand the hand of the princess for their sovereign.[1] Only a few weeks after their departure the king was attacked by a singular illness, similar to, if not identical with, the Asiatic plague, which in consequence of the war with Turkey had at that time spread through Hungary to Bohemia, and even further west. The king desired to see George of Poděbrad, of whom he took leave in touching words. He thanked him

[1] Barante (*Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. v, pp. 92–95) gives a detailed and very curious account, founded on contemporary French records, of this embassy. Want of space unfortunately prevents me from quoting largely from it. This writer enlarges on the curiosity which the Bohemians aroused: "Ce qu'il y avait d'étrange dans leurs coutumes etait un grand sujet de curiosité. C'etait dans le fort de l'hiver, et ils allaient dans les rues en traineaux, ce qu'on n'avait jamais vu; ils avaient laissé déhors leurs chariots de bagage attachés par de grosses chaines fermant à cadenas et chaque nuit ils faisaient couche dessus quelques-uns de leurs serviteurs malgré la rudesse du froid qu etait extrême. Cela sembla singulier aux Parisiens." Barante speak of the quite unfounded accusation against Poděbrad mentioned above which proves that it was soon and widely circulated. Ladislas, h tells us, died suddenly, "empoisonné, disait on, par un seigneur nomm Pozdziebracki, ou comme on disait en France Podiegrad qui fut él roi après lui."

for having been his faithful servant, told him he felt certain that his own life was doomed, and begged Poděbrad to preserve peace and order among the people of Bohemia and the dependent countries, and finally urged him to be just to rich and poor alike.[1] The king died on the third day of his illness (Nov. 23, 1457), not yet eighteen years of age. The suddenness of the death of Ladislas gave rise to the totally unfounded rumour that he had been poisoned by emissaries of Poděbrad. The national hatred to the Slav race caused this accusation to be widely circulated in Germany, especially at Vienna and at Breslau.[2]

According to the treaty of succession concluded between Bohemia and Austria during the reign of the Emperor Charles IV, the Emperor Frederick, as head of the house of Habsburg, became the legitimate successor to the Bohemian throne on the death of Ladislas. Two other members of the same house, Albert, brother of Frederick—with whom he lived in a state of constant enmity—and Sigismund, Duke of Tyrol, also raised claims to the Bohemian crown; as likewise did William, Duke of Saxony, and Casimir, King of Poland, who had both married sisters of Ladislas. Another candidate who had no hereditary claims to rely on was Prince Charles, younger son of King Charles VII of France, who wished to secure the Bohemian crown for his son. The decision of the Estates—formulated at the time of the election of Ladislas—by which they had declared the Bohemian crown to be elective *de facto*, justified all candidates in advancing their claims. The Diet which was to elect the new king assembled at Prague on February 27, 1458, but unfortunately no detailed account of its proceedings has reached us. We only learn that the ambassadors sent by King Charles of France and Duke William of Saxony were received, but that their attempts to influence the election were fruitless. On March 2, George of Poděbrad was unanimously chosen as king by the Estates, even the adherents of the Austrian party recording their votes in his favour. The election was immediately announced to the

[1] From a contemporary letter printed from the Munich archives by Bachmann, *Urkunden*, etc.

[2] Palacký, in a paper published by the Bohemian Learned Society in 1856, and fortified by the statements of medical authorities, clearly proves the true nature of the illness of Ladislas, and consequently the falsehood of the accusations against Poděbrad.

people, by whom the news was enthusiastically received. Poděbrad appears to have been very certain of his election which the strong popular feeling in his favour indeed rendered secure. It was generally felt that Bohemia must at any cost be freed from the predominance of the Germans. Rokycan, whose influence in the country was still great, warmly supported the claims of Poděbrad to the throne. We read that he declared from the pulpit that it would be better, "following the example of the judges of Israel, to transform Bohemia into a republic, if there was no native worthy of bearing the royal crown."

Moravia soon acknowledged King George, though there was some opposition on the part of the towns, especially those which, like Brno, contained a population largely German, and devoted to the cause of Rome. Silesia also submitted, though the opposition there was of a more serious nature, and was promoted by the rejected candidate, Duke William of Saxony. The town of Breslau, in particular (where a fanatically Catholic and democratic faction had obtained the government of the city), for some time resisted the authority of King George.

During the first and more successful part of the reign of King George, his foreign policy was entirely founded on the close alliance he had concluded with Matthew Corvinus, King of Hungary. Like George, Matthew had at the same time and in a similar manner become ruler of his country, for in Hungary, as in Bohemia, the legitimate claimant to the throne was the Emperor Frederick, as head of the house of Habsburg, to whom family treaties (already referred to) secured the succession in both countries. It was through the aid of his ally that King George overcame the difficulties with regard to his coronation which were caused by the anomalous ecclesiastical position in Bohemia. King Matthew, with the consent of Cardinal Carvajal, then papal legate in Hungary, sent the Bishop of Waitzen and Raab to Prague, by whom King George was crowned (May 7, 1458). Besides the usual coronation oath, the king had the day before the ceremony taken another oath, by which he pledged himself to obey the Church, to maintain its unity and to extirpate all sects and heresies in Bohemia. The Compacts, and the right of using the chalice, were not mentioned in this oath, and the Romanists subsequently maintained that the king had thus renounced the special

privileges of the Church of Bohemia. The king and the utraquists naturally retorted that the Compacts which had been sanctioned by the Council of Basel could by no means be described as heresies, and that the coronation oath by which the king had sworn to maintain the liberties and privileges of Bohemia referred to the Compacts also. It is, however, possible that the omission of all mention of the Compacts was not an accidental one, but that it was a concession to the representatives of the Papal See. Only thus could King George hope to secure his coronation, a ceremony to which the people of Bohemia have always attached the greatest importance.

The comparatively conciliatory Pope, Calixtus III, died in the year of the accession of King George, and was succeeded by Cardinal Piccolomini, known in literature as Aenaeas Sylvius. The new Pope, who assumed the name of Pius II, had a thorough knowledge of Bohemia, having resided there while engaged on diplomatic missions, and he has, as is well known, left us a history of the country. The new Pope, however, became a bitter enemy to Bohemia and to its king, as soon as he realized the impossibility of carrying out his favourite plan, involving the suppression of the Bohemian Compacts.

Germany was at that time greatly troubled by the enmity which existed between the houses of Brandenburg and Bavaria, while the power of the Emperor Frederick had sunk so low that he was in constant dread of his immediate subjects, the Estates of Lower Austria. King George availed himself of this favourable political situation for the purpose of extending his influence in Germany, where the contending parties, and at times the Emperor also, sought his alliance. It would extend our inquiries too far to give an account of the means by which he strengthened his position in Germany—more often by mediation than by the force of arms—and of the treaties which he at this time concluded with numerous German princes. We must, however, briefly refer to what was for a time the dominant object of the king's policy, the acquisition of the German crown. This plan is not easy to trace, for after its failure all papers concerning it were destroyed. It was, in fact, soon abandoned by the king, though not before it had given rise to some of the disasters of the latter years of his reign. In devising this scheme he acted largely under the influence

of one of his councillors, Martin Mayer, who undoubtedly displayed diplomatic capacity of the highest order. As far as we can judge from the scanty evidence, Martin Mayer's intention, approved of by King George, was not to dethrone the Emperor Frederick III, but to place a "coadjutor" at his side; this "coadjutor" was to receive the title of King of the Romans (or German King), such as had often been conferred on the heirs of the Emperors. It seems that Mayer had formerly suggested a similar plan to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, who had declined the suggestion. Mayer's proposal, however, met with greater favour from King George of Bohemia. Serious negotiations ensued, which, for the reason mentioned above, are now difficult to trace. Mayer succeeded in obtaining the votes of the Elector Palatine and of the Archbishop of Maintz for his master. In February (1461) numerous German princes, on the invitation of King George, assembled at Cheb for the ostensible purpose of organizing a general armament against the Turks. Probably through the ability of Mayer, this object was made subservient to the purpose he had at heart. The election of George as leader of the German forces against the Turks, suggested by him, would almost necessarily have secured for the king the position of ruler of Germany. The king was also induced to favour this plan of a campaign against the Turks by the consideration that the energy of the fanatical Papists would thus be diverted from the heretical Bohemians to the infidel Turks.

The complete failure of this scheme, which the king abandoned almost as suddenly as he had entered on it, was probably due to ecclesiastical influences. Pope Pius strongly opposed it, and one of the adherents of King George, the Archbishop of Maintz, had declared that he would not vote for Poděbrad's election as King of the Romans before he had received the sacrament in the same manner as all other Christian kings. On the other hand even the vague reports of these negotiations which spread in Bohemia caused great dissatisfaction. The people began to ask what had been the advantage of electing a Bohemian as king, when he himself was now anxious to become a German.

One of the consequences of the conciliatory attitude towards Rome which his attempt to obtain the government of Germany obliged King George to assume, was the

persecution of the Bohemian Brethren, of which we read at this period. The founder of the community of Kunwald, Brother Gregory, was imprisoned by order of the king, and even put to the rack (1461). These endeavours to conciliate the Papal See, by attempting to suppress all sects that went beyond the demarcations of the Compacts, were entirely fruitless. The Roman Church had already decided to revoke the concessions which Žižka's and Prokop's victories had once forced it to make.

The successful policy of Poděbrad—though his most ambitious plan failed—had secured Bohemia against all foreign enemies, and peace and order were also maintained. The prosperity of the country had greatly increased in consequence, and the people began to hope that the happy times of King Charles IV were returning. The University of Prague, which had suffered greatly during the troublous times, now again entered into full activity.

King George was not, however, destined long to secure quiet to his country. The ever-renewed religious struggle—an inevitable consequence of the antagonistic position of Bohemia with regard to the Western Church—now again broke out more strongly. The Pope demanded an immediate return to the exact ritual of the Western Church; he founded his demand on his interpretation of the king's oath before his coronation, to which allusion has already been made. Prolonged negotiations took place, in which King George, who had dismissed Mayer, was very badly served by his representatives. The king, seeing that a compromise between the Pope and the people of Bohemia was impossible, rallied firmly to the Compacts. In the month of August (1452) he specially assembled the Estates for the purpose of hearing the demands of the papal envoys, who had arrived at Prague, and the king's answer to them. The king made the memorable declaration that he would to his death remain true to the communion in both kinds, and that he was ready to risk his crown and his life for this object.[1]

This was a direct declaration of war against Rome; but

[1] Palacký. According to a not very reliable letter of an unknown diplomatic agent addressed to the German Electors (published by Bachmann, *Urkunden*, etc., from the Berlin archives), the king added that he considered communion in both kinds necessary for the salvation of the soul. The king afterwards denied having said this.

Pope Pius II, who was then attempting to form a confederacy against the Ottoman power, did not immediately take up the challenge. On his death (1464) his successor, Paul II, prudently awaited a favourable moment for securing his revenge on the King of Bohemia. He had not long to wait. Many of the great Bohemian nobles had from the first viewed with disatisfaction the elevation to the throne of Poděbrad, who was but their equal by birth. The king's attitude, not always conciliatory, rendered this feeling still stronger. Even the re-establishment of order and the administration of justice by regular tribunals were by many viewed with disfavour. The nobles of the Roman party were the principal, though not the only, opponents of the king; they declared themselves no longer bound by the oath of allegiance which they had sworn to King George.

The malcontent nobles met at Zelená Hora (November 28, 1465), and formed an alliance against the king, whom they accused of having violated the laws of the country, especially with regard to taxation. Though the religious question was not at first raised, the leaguers immediately sent an emissary to the Pope, with the view of obtaining his support. King George had, meanwhile, continued with Pope Paul II the negotiations which had been entirely broken off during the last years of Pius II. Though an agreement seemed to all an impossibility, the king made a last attempt towards that purpose. He addressed a letter to Paul II, in which he offered great concessions. He declared his readiness to accept a papist as Archbishop of Prague if he were a Bohemian by birth, and if he were prepared to ordain as priests those who communicated "sub utraque," as well as those who communicated "sub unâ." The king further suggested that all polemical preaching should be forbidden on both sides, and even proposed—a concession of no slight importance—to restore to the Church the estates that had formerly belonged to it. No ambassador, but a simple messenger carried the king's letter to Rome. His reception, when he stated that he had to deliver a letter sent by the King of Bohemia, quickly demonstrated the impossibility of an agreement. The Pope threw the letter on the floor, and addressed the messenger in the strongest language.[1]

[1] It is curious to note the forcible expressions used by the Pope which it is perhaps better to leave in the original Latin: "Quomod

The excommunication of King George, which had long become inevitable, now took place (December 23, 1466), with the usual formalities. Poděbrad was deposed from his rank as King of Bohemia; all Catholics were forbidden to obey him. The Pope declared that one of the leaders of the League of Zelená Hora was to act as provisional governor of Bohemia, till a new king could be chosen.

Hostilities between the king and the lords of the league had meanwhile already commenced. The king had also to defend himself against the attacks of the fanatical Catholics of Breslau, as well as against the German population of Lusatia. The German Emperor Frederick and King Matthew of Hungary, George's former ally, also now joined the king's enemies. The King of Hungary was, however, forced by the ever-increasing danger of a Turkish invasion to defer his projected attack on Bohemia. The desultory fighting so usual at that period continued for some time in Bohemian territory. Success on the whole favoured the arms of King George, who (1467) even obliged the lords of the league to conclude a truce, which, however, was of short duration.

The king availed himself of the temporary respite from domestic troubles for the purpose of carrying war into the lands of his assailants. He (December 1467) attacked the Emperor Frederick III in his hereditary territory, Lower Austria; but he thus caused, or rather precipitated, a more direct intervention of the King of Hungary into Bohemian affairs. Recklessly abandoning his eastern frontiers to the irreconcilable enemies of Christianity,[1] King Matthew decided that a campaign against the heretical Bohemians was as meritorious as warfare against the Turks,[2] He

es tu bestia audax in praesentia nostra nominare eum regem, quem scis damnatum haereticum ab ecclesia Romana. Vadas ad furcas cum haeretico ribaldo tuo."

[1] Palacký says that if King Matthew had directed on the Turks the whole efforts he fruitlessly made to extirpate the Bohemian utraquists, he would very probably have crushed the Turkish power in Europe, then still very feeble. The Turkish servitude which Hungary endured for two centuries was to a great extent a consequence of the mistaken policy of Matthew.

[2] In a letter addressed to the magistrates of Cheb—preserved in the archives of that town and printed by Bachmann, *Urkunden*, etc.—the King of Hungary declares "negotium arduum illud quidem" (the invasion of Bohemia) "sed summi plane etiam in celo meriti et gloriae super terram existimantes non minus pium hoc fore bellum quamquod

issued a manifesto in which he proclaimed his intention of defending the Catholic faith against the heretical Bohemians.

War broke out early in the year 1468, and King Matthew succeeded in obtaining possession of the greater part of Moravia. He occupied the castle of Spielberg, the citadel of the town of Brno, which he chose as his head-quarters. From this strong fortress he made repeated raids in Eastern Bohemia. On May 3, 1469, Matthew was proclaimed King of Bohemia by his adherents. He distributed the offices of State among his most powerful partisans the lords of the league of Zelená Hora. Though Matthew obtained many advantages in Moravia, which was the principal scene of the hostilities, he was not able to secure a hold on the entire country for any length of time; a renewed invasion of Bohemia (1470) also had little result.

The danger threatening Bohemia from King Matthew[1] destroyed the favourite plan of Poděbrad, which he had entertained during his whole life. He had always hoped to secure the Bohemian crown for his descendants, and thus to found a national dynasty. He was now forced to abandon his favourite plan for the purpose of securing the safety of his country. Attacked by numerous and powerful enemies, he decided to obtain at any price the alliance of the kindred Polish nation. He was successful in this attempt, though only by sacrificing what had been the great ambition of his life. He concluded a treaty with Poland, by which the succession to the Bohemian throne was—after his death—secured to Vladislav, son of Casimir, King of Poland. This decision was shortly afterwards ratified by the Estates of Bohemia, who recognized Prince Vladislav as heir to the throne.[2]

tanto jam tempore cum atrocissimis omnium fidelium hostibus Thurcis gerimus."

[1] The irritation of King George against the King of Hungary seems to have been very great, and he provoked Matthew to single combat. The curious correspondence between the two kings on this subject is printed in Palacký's *Böhmische Geschichte*.

[2] The sons of King George, after the death of their father, assumed the title of Dukes of Münsterberg, and shortly afterwards accepted the Roman Catholic creed. They seem, however, to have venerated the memory of their illustrious father, for we read that Duke Henry of Münsterberg sent a message to the abbot of the convent of the Virgin at Breslau, informing him that he would burn all his villages if he did not deliver his father from hell. This referred to the

In the latter part of the year 1470 the Bohemian arms were more successful. King George drove the Hungarians almost completely out of Moravia, though they continued to occupy a few towns. He also succeeded in subduing the lords of the Zelená Hora League, and matters seemed to be assuming a more favourable aspect when King George, who had long been suffering from dropsy, died (March 22, 1471). Just a month before (February 22) John of Rokycan, the first and last archbishop of the utraquist Church, which he governed for nearly half-a-century, had also expired.

King George has always remained, next to Charles IV, the sovereign whose memory the Bohemians treasure most.[1] Even the misfortunes of the last years of his reign, and the failure of his principal plans—supremacy in Germany, and the foundation of a national dynasty—do not diminish this feeling. It is indeed possible that, had he succeeded in obtaining the prominent position in the Empire which his ambition marked out him, the affection of the Bohemians would have been alienated; for it was the knowledge that they were governed by a man of their own race that mainly induced the Bohemians to love Poděbrad and to retain their affection for him even when his fortunes were at the lowest. Though the Estates had already recognized Prince Vladislav of Poland as heir to the throne, his claim was immediately disputed by King Matthew of Hungary, whom his adherents had already proclaimed King of Bohemia. Matthew still held several towns in Moravia, while the whole of Lusatia and large districts of Silesia—specially the fanatical citizens of Breslau—acknowledged him as their sovereign. It is probable that the wish of the Estates to establish the purely elective character of the royalty of the country, caused them to ignore their former decision and determine to elect a

fact that the abbot had built a new chapel, for which he had caused a picture to be painted representing the Last Judgment. In this picture King George was represented as being carried to hell on a litter by two devils. The abbot immediately caused the picture of the king to be effaced, fearing that his villages might be burnt. (Eschenloer.)

[1] It has been impossible to give more than a mere outline of the eventful reign of King George. Palacký, with whom he is a great favourite, has given a long and perhaps slightly idealized portrait of the King.

new king. The diet assembled at Kutna Hora, where prolonged debates took place. Besides the Hungarian and Polish princes, Duke Albert of Saxony—who appears to have been supported by the sons of the late King George—also found adherents. It was, however, at last decided to elect as king Prince Vladislav of Poland (May 27, 1471). The new king immediately proceeded to Bohemia, and arrived at Prague (August 19), where he was received with rejoicings by the citizens. The doctors of the university, who welcomed him in the old town, "presented him with a neatly-printed and bound copy of the Bible, so that he might read it and direct himself and his subjects according to the will of God." The king's coronation took place three days later, but contemporary records do not report much concerning the ceremonies of the occasion.

King Matthew of Hungary recommenced hostilities against Bohemia as soon as his hopes of becoming the lawful sovereign of the land vanished. War between the two kings continued up to the year 1478. We read of no great battles, though constant local engagements occurred between the towns and the castles that acknowledged Vladislav and those which sided with Matthew. A treaty of peace was at last concluded at Olomonc in 1478. Matthew renounced all claims on Bohemia, but retained possession of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia; these countries were, however, to return to the Bohemian crown on the death of King Matthew.

The internal religious struggle in Bohemia meanwhile continued. It is clear that the sympathies of King Vladislav II[1] were entirely with the papal party, and that policy alone prevented him from more openly manifesting them. Among other measures favourable to the Roman Catholics, Vladislav appointed as magistrates for Prague men of the party which, though still adhering to the use of the chalice, opposed all the other tenets of the old reform party, and generally showed sympathy with the papists. By order of these magistrates several priests and others were imprisoned for expressing opinions contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Church. This incident and other similar ones, which took place principally on the estates of the

[1] Vladislav was thus designated, as the Bohemian Prince Vladislav (1410–1473) had borne the title of king.

great nobles of the papal party, caused the utraquists to unite for self-defence. The utraquist nobles and knights formed a confederacy for mutual aid, of which the high burgrave, John Tovačovsky, Lord of Cimburg, became the leader. The arbitrary conduct of the magistrates of Prague soon caused troubles in that town. The people, incensed by the rumoured intention of the magistrates to imprison or execute the leaders of the utraquist party, stormed the three town halls and murdered several of the magistrates. Great disorder prevailed in the town, and a large number of Germans and Jews were massacred. The king was naturally greatly incensed, but he was unable to cope with a party to which the great majority of the people of Bohemia belonged; he was even unable to punish the persons guilty of these murders. In 1485 one of the many temporary compromises between the Roman and utraquist parties was concluded at Kutna Hora, and peace, or rather a truce, was thus obtained. Both parties undertook to respect the religious views of their opponents, by abstaining from all insults to their creed. The compacts were again confirmed, and it was decided that each creed should retain the use of the churches which it had possessed at the beginning of the reign of Vladislav II; a certain amount of religious liberty was also granted to the peasants whose faith differed from that of the lords on whose estates they lived.

A few years afterwards (in 1493) another attempt was made to reconcile the utraquists with the Roman Church, of which Alexander VI (Borgia) was then the head. An Italian noble, Nicholas Cola de Castro, who frequently journeyed to Prague, assumed spontaneously the office of mediator. He assured the citizens of Prague of the Pope's good-will, and obtained a letter from the magistrates of the town, in which in respectful language, but in a very indefinite manner, they asked the Pope for his favour. The Pope also answered in vague words. He expressed the hope "that the pious and sincere Catholic King Vladislav would lead them on the true path of faith and humility." The Pope said that he would "gladly receive every one whose thoughts were true and upright, and that he would be a father to all such." The Pope appears to have been entirely misled by Cola de Castro, for on appointing Bishop Urso Orsini papal legate for Bohemia, he informed him that the

obstinate heretics had at last seen their errors. When the Diet that met at Prague (December 20, 1494) declared that the Compacts were to form the basis for the future negotiations, the proposed reconciliation immediately fell to the ground. The papal envoy never even started for Bohemia.[1] At a later period of his pontificate Pope Alexander VI greatly irritated the utraquists by appointing a Dominican friar "censor" over all books printed and sold in Bohemia and Moravia. The friar had orders to burn all those containing heretical views of which he could obtain possession. The Dominican established himself at Olomonc —always a stronghold of the Catholic party—and published several polemical works in which he violently attacked the utraquist creed.

The most important feature of the reign of King Vladislav is the development of the constitution of Bohemia in an aristocratic, or rather oligarchic, direction. All the enactments of the Diets of this reign rendered the peasantry more completely dependent on their territorial lords, and encroached on the privileges of the towns. The power of the crown—very strong under King George—also decreased during the reigns of Vladislav II and Louis.

The oldest institutions of Bohemia—as far as we can judge from the scanty records—were of a democratic character, as indeed were those of most Slavonic countries. Slaves and serfs were unknown. Through the constant contact with Germany feudal institutions were slowly introduced into Bohemia, and the peasants gradually became more dependent on the nobles. Still, this was not so entirely the case as in Germany, and the armed peasants, at whose head Žižka and Prokop defeated the armies of half Europe, were still freemen.

The reaction against democracy in Europe at this time found expression in Bohemia also. The Diet of 1487 at last practically established bondage. It issued an enactment, according to which all were forbidden to give shelter to servants or peasants who might have left the estates on which they lived; they were, on the contrary, to be returned immediately—under penalty of a fine—to the owner of the estate from which they had fled.

This measure was destined to have the most fatal results for the independence of Bohemia. The stout Bohemian

[1] Palacký.

peasantry lost its former interest in its nation and gradually became indifferent to the independence of Bohemia.

The dissensions between the towns and the nobility, which were renewed at almost every Diet during the reign of King Vladislav, at first turned principally on a conflict of material interests. The towns had hitherto enjoyed almost a monopoly of the trade of brewing, at all times one of the most lucrative undertakings in Bohemia. Many of the great nobles at this period established breweries, and forbade the sale of other beer on their extensive estates, thus greatly injuring the towns.

During these struggles King Vladislav acted mainly under the influence of Duke Bartholemew of Münsterberg, a grandson of King George. Under this influence, the king —as far as it was in his power—sided with the townsmen, and endeavoured to resist the increasing preponderance of the nobles. The weak and vacillating nature of the king, however, rendered him unable to take a prominent part in a great constitutional struggle. During the whole reign of Vladislav, the nobles pursued their policy, which strove for the reduction of the rights of the townsmen. All the decisions of the Diet during this reign give proof of this tendency.

The Diet attempted to impose considerable limitations on the right of the towns (as the "third curia") to take part in its deliberations, and also to curtail the privileges of special jurisdiction which the towns had for many years enjoyed. All these innovations were formally promulgated by being included in the regulation of King Vladislav, a codification of the various enactments of the previous years. This code (published in 1500) enumerated all the privileges of the knights and nobles, while entirely ignoring those of the towns. Its fundamental principle was that only nobles and knights were freemen, and that the other classes of the population were destined to servitude. These therefore had no innate rights, but could only enjoy such as were granted to them by favour.[1] The towns appealed to King Vladislav, who was, however, unable to oppose the nobles. He therefore reluctantly decided in favour of the new regulations, and duly ratified them. After this several Diets composed only of the nobles and knights were held, and the disputes between the different orders continued to

[1] Palacký.

the end of the reign of Vladislav, for a time throwing even the religious dissensions into the shade.

Vladislav had shortly after the death of King Matthew (1490) been elected King of Hungary, and it was in that country that he spent the greater part of the later years of his reign. Constant absence from Bohemia greatly reduced the king's influence, and, as previously mentioned, he was quite unable to resist the encroachments of the nobles.

King Vladislav died at Ofen in Hungary on March 13, 1516. He was succeeded by Louis, his son by his marriage to Anna de Candale, a connection of the French royal family.[1] Louis, who had already been crowned as King of Bohemia at the age of three, was only ten years old at the death of his father. Shortly before his death, Vladislav had made an agreement with his brother, King Sigismund of Poland, and with the German Emperor Maximilian (who had succeeded his father, Frederick III), by which they were declared guardians of his son Louis, should he come to the throne before he was of age. At the same time marriages were arranged between King Louis and the Archduchess Mary, grand-daughter of the Emperor, and also between the Archduke Ferdinand, grandson of the Emperor, and Anna, daughter of King Vladislav. It was at the same time agreed that the Bohemian crown should pass to the descendants of Princess Anna, should King Louis die childless. This agreement was, however, not brought before the Estates of Bohemia, and their assent was not demanded. On the death of Vladislav the Diet recognized the German Emperor and the King of Poland as guardians of the young king, but it would not allow them any right of interference in the government of the land. The Bohemian nobles, who held the great offices of State, especially the supreme burgrave, Zdeněk Lev, Lord of Rožmittal, governed the country almost without control. At the beginning of the reign of the new king the disputes between the orders were for a time made up by an agreement, which is known as the Treaty of Venceslas (1517).[2] By this agreement the towns renounced their claim to an exclusive right of brewing, and

[1] She was the daughter of Gaston de Candale and Catharine, Countess de Foix. Her grandmother was a sister of King Louis XII of France, at whose court she had been brought up.

[2] Because the Diet which voted this agreement met on the day of St. Venceslas (September 28).

the nobility recognized their special privileges of jurisdiction. Before this time the representatives of the towns had already been again admitted to the sittings of the Diet (1508).

The extension of Luther's teaching in Bohemia, which began about this period, revived the religious strife, which had lately decreased. The new doctrine found adherents among the utraquists, many of whom considered that the compacts did not go far enough in the cause of Church reform. The Germans, who had hitherto been the most strenuous opponents of this reform, now accepted the teaching of Luther in great numbers. "The Bohemians were surprised to see the Germans now themselves receive communion in the two kinds, and renounce the authority of the Roman Church." [1]

In 1522 King Louis, who had up to that date resided in Hungary, where he had also been accepted as king, arrived in Bohemia. The tyranny and defraudations of Zdeněk Lev of Rožmital had caused great dissatisfaction in Bohemia, and joy was great when the king, shortly after his arrival in Bohemia, dismissed him from his office of supreme burgrave. The king thus attempted to reassert the royal prerogative which had recently fallen almost into oblivion. John of Wartenberg, a weak man, became burgrave, and the king appointed as regent Duke Charles of Münsterberg, a grandson of King George. Duke Charles, whom after the death of his cousin, Duke Bartholomew, King Vladislas had often consulted on the affairs of the State, was intellectually far inferior to his cousin, and quite unequal to his difficult task.[2] He and the burgrave and other officials of the new government appear to have favoured the more advanced utraquists, who were then meditating a union with the Lutherans of Germany. The new officials thus fell into disfavour with the king, who at that moment was parti-

[1] Public opinion at that period so completely identified the Bohemians with the idea of heresy, that Luther himself was "accused" of being a Bohemian. In a letter to Count Schlick, a Bohemian noble, Luther says: "Odium nominis vestri nullus vestrum tanto onere, quanto ego, unquam portauit, Quoties rogo Bohemus natus quoties fugam molitus ad Bohemos, adhuc hodie criminor?"

[2] The late Professor Rezek, in an interesting article published in the *Časopis Musea Království Českého* (Journal of the Museum of the Bohemian Kingdom), deals with the formerly little known relations of the dukes of Münsterberg to Kings Vladislav and Louis.

cularly anxious to ingratiate himself with the Papal See. He had just requested financial aid from Rome for the purpose of defending Hungary against the Turks. Lev of Rožmital was therefore reinstated as burgrave, but he did not forgive the king for his former dismissal. Shortly after he had resumed office, Rožmital became involved in a feud with the powerful Rosenberg family, as he claimed the inheritance of Lord Peter of Rosenberg. All the Bohemian nobles and towns took sides in this feud, and the whole country was divided into the Rosenberg and the Rožmital factions.

It was at this unpropitious moment that the unfortunate King Louis, then again residing in Hungary, sent an urgent demand for aid against the Turks. When the Diet, before which the matter was brought, met, no agreement could be arrived at. Rožmital in particular showed little zeal for the cause of the king. The heads of the Rosenberg party at last resolved, at their own expense, to equip a force in aid of King Louis. Rožmital thereupon also decided to send a small army to Hungary. The Bohemians had been so tardy in their preparations that only a few of their troops—those sent by the lords of the Rosenberg Confederacy—had arrived when the battle of Moháč took place (August 29, 1526). That fatal battle, in consequence of which the greater part of Hungary became a Turkish province for more than two centuries, belongs to Hungarian rather than to Bohemian history. It is sufficient to say that King Louis foolhardily attacked the Turkish army of 300,000 men with a force of only 25,000, and was totally defeated. When leaving the battle-field the king—who was then only twenty years of age—was drowned while trying to ford a marshy stream.

CHAPTER VII

THE KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG FROM THE BATTLE OF MOHÁČ TO THE BATTLE OF THE WHITE MOUNTAIN (1526–1620)

"After the unfortunate battle and the death of King Louis at Moháč, the lands of the Bohemian crown became subject to an interregnum. This was the more unfortunate as under the feeble rule of the two last kings anarchy an

lawlessness had already been prevalent, and had endangered the welfare of the people. All the native contemporary sources unite in telling us of the hopeless moral decay and the internal ruin of the Bohemian State, both with regard to ecclesiastical and political affairs."[1]

But neither the precarious condition of the country nor the claims of the Archduke Ferdinand (founded as they were on the treaty between the late King Vladislav and the Emperor Maximilian) discouraged numerous competitors for the vacant throne. Almost immediately after the news of the death of the king reached Prague (September 9), it was rumoured that many princes aspired to the crown of Bohemia. Besides the Archduke Ferdinand we find among them the Bavarian Dukes Louis and William, Sigismund King of Poland, John Elector of Saxony and his son John Frederick, and George Duke of Saxony. Francis I, King of France, Joachim Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke Frederick of Leignitz, and the noblemen Charles Duke of Münsterberg, Zdeněk Lev Lord of Rožmital, and Adalbert Lord of Pernstein, were also mentioned as candidates. There appear to have been two parties among the Estates, whose duty it was now to elect a king and establish a new dynasty in Bohemia. The adherents of one party were strongly opposed to the choice of a Bohemian noble, as they objected to a king who was their equal by birth. The other party, on the contrary, declared that no one should be chosen who was ignorant of the Bohemian language, and it was urged that if a man capable of ruling strongly could be found, it would be of minor importance if he were poor, as the country was rich enough to allow its sovereign the means of sustaining the regal dignity.[2] This probably referred to Lev of Rožmital, who was the most prominent of the Bohemian candidates to the throne, and whose financial circumstances at that time were very unsatisfactory. Archduke Ferdinand at first aimed rather at his recognition as King of Bohemia—in virtue of his relationship to the late king, and of the agreements mentioned above—than at his election. The Bohemian nobles were, however, immovable in their determination to maintain the elective character of the Bohemian crown. Ferdinand lost no time in sending his representatives to Bohemia, and they were soon followed by envoys of

[1] A. Rezek, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinands I in Böhmen.*
[2] Rezek.

the other candidates. When the moment of the election approached many of the competitors withdrew their claims. Among others, the agents of the Kings of France and Poland abandoned all pretensions put forward on the part of their sovereigns, though the representative of King Sigismund of Poland had at first made great promises to the Bohemians, to induce them to elect his master. The general opinion in Bohemia had already made itself clearly felt, that the remoteness of these countries rendered the election of either of the princes impossible. After the beginning of October only two candidatures were persisted in, and the two opposing parties resolved themselves into the Austrian and the Bavarian factions. The other candidates either altogether abandoned the contest, or joined one or the other of these parties. On the Bavarian side we find the Kings of France and of Poland, Adalbert of Pernstein, and Lev of Rožmital. Pope Clement VII, always an enemy of the house of Habsburg, also brought all his influence to bear in favour of the Bavarian candidate. On Ferdinand's side we only find Duke George of Saxony, and Ferdinand's sister, the widowed Queen Maria, also used what little influence she had in his favour. The ambassadors of Ferdinand, however, displayed great energy, and bribery played a great part in this election. Lev of Rožmital was won over to the archduke by the promise of payment of his debts—which amounted to 50,000 florins—and by the assurance that those who had not from the first belonged to the Austrian party should in no way suffer for their former opposition but should retain all their offices and privileges. Similar promises gained over other of the great nobles, and the agents of the house of Habsburg acted with so much secrecy that the Bavarian envoys were still hopeful when the election of Ferdinand was practically assured. On October 23, 1526, the Diet elected the Archduke Ferdinand King of Bohemia. This date marks the beginning of the rule of the house of Habsburg over Bohemia, if we except the short reigns of Rudolph and of Albert, who had also belonged to that dynasty.

Ferdinand was also chosen king by the Hungarians, and he had already become possessed of the hereditary domains of the house of Habsburg. The government of Germany was also entrusted to him whenever his brother, the Emperor Charles V, was in Spain or in the Netherlands

Many of the events of his life, therefore, do not belong to Bohemian history, and the greater part of his time, particularly during the last years of his reign, were spent away from Bohemia.

In matters of theological controversy, which then and for many years afterwards absorbed the whole intellectual activity of Bohemia, Ferdinand showed greater moderation than his Spanish education had led the Bohemians to expect. Thoroughly grasping the intricate state of ecclesiastical affairs in Bohemia, the king from the first realized that the abolition of all "heresies" and the complete re-establishment of the Roman creed and ritual were for the present not to be sought for. He therefore attempted to establish an alliance between the few Romanists in Bohemia and those utraquists who, though strictly maintaining the compacts of Basel, had little sympathy with the ideas of Church reform and of Protestantism which at that moment were spreading rapidly through the neighbouring German countries. The position of the moderate party in the utraquist community was, however, one of steady decadence. The king was therefore, in the concluding years of his reign, obliged to rely principally on the Catholics, and he used all his influence in the country in their favour. Whenever circumstances permitted, Ferdinand—whose time was principally taken up by the defence of Hungary against the Turks—attempted the difficult task of uniting the Romanists and utraquists, hoping thus to prevent the spread of Lutheranism. Ferdinand and his advisers maintained that as the Council of Basel had only recognized the utraquist community, that community and the Romanists alone were entitled to a legal status: the Protestants and Bohemian Brethren should therefore, they argued, be absolutely excluded from the country. In 1537 Ferdinand arranged a meeting between the representatives of the Roman and those of the utraquist parties. He declared that only those who either professed the Catholic faith or recognized the compacts had a right to be present. The utraquists forced several members of the community of the Brethren to retire, but they opposed the wishes of the king with regard to the Lutherans. Several of the utraquist nobles even spoke in a disparaging way of the compacts, saying that they had never read them, and that they would only be guided by the word of God. The utraquist party then proposed a

compromise to the Catholics which cannot be called unfair, for of the four creeds that then divided Bohemia, the Old-Utraquists, the Lutherans, the Bohemian Brethren, and the Romanists, the last-named had the fewest adherents.[1]

These proposals were drawn up in seven articles. According to them, papal and utraquist priests were henceforth freely to celebrate divine service in the churches of either confession; the Romanists were to be allowed to embrace the utraquist faith without hindrance, and *vice versâ;* Catholic lords were not to appoint priests to a utraquist parish without the approval of the authorities of the utraquist Church; on the other hand, utraquist patrons of livings where the population was Catholic were not to make any similar appointments without the consent of the Roman Church. It was further proposed that there should be two bishops for Bohemia, one for the utraquist, the other for the Romanist part of the population. It was finally declared that utraquist lords should have equal rights to the offices of State with the Catholics. The Romanists refused these proposals, which would practically have established religious equality between the two creeds. The age was perhaps not ripe for such a settlement, and from a strictly Romanist point of view it was impossible to approve of the equality of position which the "heretics" would thus have obtained. Henceforth the utraquist Church became more and more Lutheran in its doctrine and ritual, and almost abandoned the Compacts, which no longer sufficiently represented its religious views.

Though he was unsuccessful in his efforts to prevent the spread of Protestantism in Bohemia, Ferdinand succeeded in consolidating his dynasty, and in strengthening the royal authority in Bohemia. He was able to obtain from the

[1] The number or the adherents of the Church of Rome during the sixteenth century is a very contested point. Dr. Gindely (*Geschichte der Ertheitung des Böhmischen Majestätsbriefes*), counting together Bohemia and Moravia, where the Roman Church never completely lost its power, estimates them as a third of the population. This figure is certainly too high. Gindely himself, speaking of the last years of the sixteenth century, says that Catholicism was constantly losing ground, and would then have been extinct had it not been for the Jesuits. The Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Michiel (writing in 1576), speaks of "questi pochi catholici che ci sono" (in Bohemia); he adds, however, "che sono però li maggior signori ed officiali del regno" (from the State Archives at Venice).

Estates the recognition of his hereditary right to the throne. At the moment of his accession he had been obliged to recognize the elective character of the Bohemian crown. When a great fire at Prague (1541) destroyed all the State documents, Ferdinand obtained the consent of the Estates to the substitution of a charter formulating the theory that he had, in consequence of the hereditary rights of his wife, Queen Anna, been accepted as king in the place of the former charter, which had declared that he had become king by election. This innovation, however, caused great dissatisfaction in Bohemia.

In the year 1545 King Ferdinand, by the Peace of Constantinople, put at least a temporary stop to the war with Turkey, which had continued almost uninterruptedly since the beginning of his reign. His brother, the Emperor Charles V, had in the previous year concluded peace with France. The Emperor now attempted to stem the tide of Lutheranism, which had risen very high in consequence of his inability to devote his attention to German internal affairs during the prolonged war with France. Hostilities broke out in Germany in the summer of 1546 between the Emperor Charles V and the Protestant princes; the latter had met at Schmalkalden and formed a league, the leaders of which were John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. Ferdinand undertook to aid his brother by attacking the lands of the Elector of Saxony from the adjoining districts of Bohemia. The Estates of Bohemia, the great majority of which were either old-utraquists, Lutherans, or members of the union of the Bohemian Brethren, were naturally opposed to the Church of Rome. They were therefore now in a very difficult position. There was little doubt that by aiding King Ferdinand and the Emperor in their attempt to suppress Protestantism in Germany they would greatly increase the power of their king; in case of success there was every probability that Ferdinand would abandon his former moderation, and strive forcibly to re-establish the Church of Rome in Bohemia. On the other hand, many were unwilling to rise in arms against their "elected and crowned" king, while the old dislike to the Germans rendered an alliance with the Elector of Saxony distasteful to others. The Estates therefore adopted an undecided and vacillating policy—with the results that such a policy almost invariably produces.

King Ferdinand assembled the Estates at Prague (Ju 1546), and obtained their consent to a general armament the country should it be attacked by the Turks or oth foreign enemies. Soon afterwards, the army of Ferdinar marched into Saxony to attack the Elector. When the reached the Saxon frontier Ferdinand's Bohemian troop refused to cross it, grounding their refusal on the decisio of the Diet. In the following year (1547) hostilities r commenced in Germany between the Protestant princes an the Emperor Charles V, with whom Duke Maurice Saxony had entered into an alliance against the head of h house. Not discouraged by the experiences of the previou year, Ferdinand again called on the Estates of Bohemia to a him. By an order issued at Prague (January 12, 1547), h summoned them to join him with their forces the followin month. Only a few Romanists and old-utraquists assemble there. The majority of the people thought the momen favourable for forcing Ferdinand to recede from the mo authoritative attitude he had lately assumed, both as regard temporal and ecclesiastical affairs. The citizens of Pragu took the lead in this movement, and were soon joined b many nobles and knights. They demanded that a Di should be summoned, and the Estates met at Prague o March 18, without waiting for the king's assent. They her formulated their demands in fifty-seven "articles." Thes articles, among other matters, re-established the electiv character of the Bohemian crown, proclaimed liberty for a religious beliefs in Bohemia, and in various points curtaile the rights of the sovereign.

A committee, consisting of four members of each of th three Estates, was elected. No direct attack on the kin was, however, attempted. It seems, indeed, rather to hav been the intention of the Estates to reduce the power the king to what it had been at the beginning of his reig It is noticeable that of the eight members of the ne committee chosen from the nobles and knights, four we members of the Unity of the Bohemian Brethren.

The Elector of Saxony, who greatly overrated the chan of receiving aid from the Bohemians, entered in negotiations with the Estates. The latter now decided equip an armed force, the command of which they gave Kaspar Pflug of Rahstein; his instructions were to proce to the Saxon frontier and there to await further orders. Th

Estate, however, continued to be irresolute till the moment when action was possible had passed. Rabstein marched to Joachimsthal, close to the Saxon frontier, but he refused to cross into Germany, where critical events were impending, without a formal order from the Estates. Soon afterwards the decisive victory of Charles V at Mühlberg (April 14, 1547) for the time crushed Protestantism in Germany. The Bohemian troops dispersed, and the Estates, with foolish and untimely servility, sent a deputation to Ferdinand to congratulate him on the victory. Ferdinand on this occasion displayed his usual prudence. Charles V had after his victory placed a large force of Spanish and Walloon soldiers at his brother's disposal. The opportunity of asserting absolute authority in Bohemia was certainly a tempting one. Ferdinand was, however, not induced by the weakness and irresolution which the Estates had shown to underrate the danger of a new general uprising of the Bohemian nation, should that still warlike race be driven to desperation. He therefore gave a gracious though evasive answer to the deputation; but he demanded a promise that the Estates would abandon all negotiations with the Protestant princes of Germany. Ferdinand then marched on Prague with the forces the Emperor had put at his disposal. The town capitulated (July 8, 1547) almost without any show of resistance. Ferdinand took this opportunity for seriously curtailing the autonomy of the Bohemian towns, which had already been weakened through the acts of the Diets during the reign of King Louis. When accepting the unconditional surrender of the town of Prague, Ferdinand informed the citizens that their former privileges would only be renewed after he had examined them. The result of this examination was that all the enactments contained in the privileges of Prague and the other Bohemian towns which in any way impaired the royal authority were annulled. To enforce this change the king appointed "royal judges," as they were called, who were to exercise a general control over the municipalities of the provincial towns of Bohemia; without their consent neither an assembly of the town council nor of the general body of the citizens could take place: they also had a right of veto on any decision which seemed to them to encroach on the royal prerogative. Officials of higher ranks but with similar functions were also appointed for the city of Prague, where they received the name of "royal

captains." Punishment was also meted out to many individuals who had taken a prominent part in the ill-considered and fruitless attempt to resist the royal authority. Some of those most implicated, among whom was Pflug of Rabstein, had fled the country, but four of the leaders of the movement, two knights and two citizens of Prague, were decapitated in the square on the Hradčany (August 20). As the king had summoned the Diet on the day appointed for the execution, the assembly afterwards became known as the "Bloody Diet." Numerous landed estates were also confiscated.

King Ferdinand undoubtedly gave proof of his usual sagacity when he attributed the insurrection in Bohemia largely to the religious sects. One of these, the "Unity" of the Bohemian Brethren, though of humble origin, had by this time spread widely, and acquired great influence in the land. The Unity was from the first of a very democratic character; it had, however, been joined by a certain number of nobles, and these were among the most prominent opponents of Ferdinand's plan of subduing the German Protestants with the aid of Bohemian arms. It was at this body, therefore, that Ferdinand aimed the sharpest blow. On October 8, 1547, he issued a decree re-enacting laws formerly directed against the Brethren. He forbad their religious meetings, and ordered them to make restitution to the Catholics or utraquists of the churches of which they had taken possession. At the same time the estates of several nobles who belonged to the Unity were confiscated, many of the Brethren were imprisoned, and others driven out of the country. The cruelest fate befell Augusta, the leader or bishop of the Unity. He was unjustly accused[1] of having had secret communications with the Elector of Saxony, and was for some time confined in the "White Tower" at Prague. He was there subjected to torture in a manner that even at that barbarous period appeared exceptionally horrible. It was hoped that he would thus be induced to confess his treason. When it was found that this was impossible, he was thrown into the dungeon of the

[1] Dr. Gindely (*Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder*) admits the innocence of Augusta, but he attempts to prove that the Lutherans who were involved in the supposed conspiracy tried to obtain their own security by throwing the responsibility on Augusta and other leaders of the Unity.

royal castle of Pürglitz, where he remained a prisoner for sixteen years. Some years later, Ferdinand, during one of his visits to Bohemia, established the order of the Jesuits in the land (1556). It has been truly stated by writers of the most opposite views that this measure had a very decisive effect on the future of Bohemia, in consequence of the marvellous intellectual activity of the Jesuit order, and the unequalled knowledge of the country which its members soon acquired.[1]

King Ferdinand left Bohemia soon after the suppression of the disturbances of the year 1547, leaving his second son, Archduke Ferdinand, as his representative. The king did not then wish to confer that dignity on his eldest son Archduke Maximilian, though the latter was about this time—February 1549—recognized as heir to the throne by the Bohemian Estates. It seems unquestionable that Maximilian's sympathy with Protestantism (founded, as it was said, on the influence over him which the Lutheran preacher Pfauser had acquired) caused a temporary estrangement between father and son. Maximilian did not long continue to hold the views in question. It seems likely that (as Ranke has suggested) the death of the Infant Don Carlos and the possibility of Maximilian's succession to the Spanish throne contributed to the abandonment of his hostile attitude towards the Roman Church.

The triumph of the Roman Catholic cause in Germany, which seemed assured by the battle of Mühlberg, was of short duration. Duke Maurice of Saxony, who had, as a reward for his services to the Emperor, obtained the Saxon Electorate in the place of John Frederick, shortly afterwards headed a new confederacy of the Protestant princes of Germany against Charles V (1552). The Protestants were this time more successful, and Charles V was obliged to assume a more conciliatory attitude. The peace concluded at Augsburg (1555) between the Emperor and the Protestant princes recognized the *status quo* in Germany. The

[1] The views of the more advanced utraquists, or rather Lutherans, are stated very forcibly by Andreas ab Habernfeld in his little known but valuable work, *Bellum Bohemicum. Lugduni Batavorum*, 1645: "A primo Jesuitarum in Bohemiam introitu turbari regnum coeperat, Regum Sacramenta Sanctiones donationesque vilia haberi. Status reipublicae optime constitus vitiari, aboleri consuetudines, Religionem quae summum mortalitatis solatium est, intentari, inquisitionis Hispanicae seminaria inseri."

religious reforms which the Protestant princes had introduced into their territories, and their confiscations of former Church lands, thereby received the Emperor's sanction. The Peace of Augsburg contained no reference to Bohemia, but it greatly encouraged the Lutheran party in that country.

After the abdication of Charles V (1558) Ferdinand succeeded him as Emperor. Shortly before his death he caused his son Maximilian, with whom he was now on better terms, to be crowned as King of Bohemia (1562). In the year 1564 Ferdinand entered into new negotiations with Pope Pius IV for the purpose of reconciling the moderate utraquists with the Roman Church. The death of Ferdinand in the same year (July 25, 1564) interrupted these negotiations.

Maximilian, as mentioned above, had already been crowned King of Bohemia, and succeeded his father without opposition as ruler of that country. "Maximilian differed from most of his contemporaries, who were generally either fiery adherents or bitter enemies of Catholicism. During the whole of his life he was unable to make up his mind definitely for or against the Catholic cause. He played the part of a discontented son as long as his father lived, opposed him, and surrounded himself with enemies of the Catholic Church; he avoided the religious functions of that Church, and the Protestants founded great hopes on his accession to the throne; but as soon as he succeeded his father he abandoned his former attitude, began to favour the Catholics, and publicly conformed to their creed."[1]

Maximilian also succeeded his father as Emperor, and as King of Hungary, and he further inherited part of the old dominions of the house of Habsburg, Upper and Lower Austria.[2] Other duties therefore prevented him from immediately assuming the government of Bohemia, where his younger brother Ferdinand continued to act as regent.

It was only in 1567 that the new king visited Bohemia.

[1] Gindely, *Rudolph II und seine Zeit.*

[2] Of Ferdinand I's other sons, the one (Ferdinand) inherited the Tyrol, the other (Charles) Styria, with Carinthia and Carniola. Charles was succeeded by his son Ferdinand, who subsequently became Emperor as well as King of Bohemia and Hungary, under the name of Ferdinand II.

He immediately assembled the Estates, principally for the purpose of obtaining aid against the Turks. The discussions between the representatives of the towns and the nobility were very violent. Religious questions were also again introduced, to the great disgust of the king, who said that "it did not belong to him, and far less to them, but to the Roman Pontiff and to the Church, to judge on religious matters."[1] The king's hope that the Diet would only sit a short time was not fulfilled. The Estates attempted to obtain his assent, if not to the acceptance of the Lutheran creed, at least to the suppression of the Compacts ; formerly so greatly revered in Bohemia they had now become an object of dislike to the more advanced reformers. The king, on the other hand, maintained that no doctrines differing from the Roman creed, except those contained in the Compacts, were admissible in Bohemia. The Estates thereupon sent a message to the king which greatly displeased him.[2] Maximilian was finally obliged to abandon his wish of excluding religious questions from the discussions of the Diet. He also found it necessary to make a very important concession to the Estates: and, as was wished, he declared that the Compacts no longer

[1] The Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Michiel, writing from Prague, March 17, 1567, says that the menaces of the Turks "con maggior instantia che non si faceva fa Sua Maestá sollecitare la conclusione della dieta di questo regno et essendo stati tutti questi giorni gran divisione et contentioni tra li cittadini da una parte et li baroni et nobili dall' altra con esser mancato poco che non sono venuti a romore d'altro che di parola ; comparuen avanti hieri inanzi Sua Maestà instando la parte de' cettadini con molti nobili fra loro di poter far alteratione nella religiona volendosi ridunare alla confession Augustana benchè non l'esprimessero ; alli quali s'opposero questi pochi catholici che ci sono (che sono peró li maggior signori et ufficiali del regno) con li quali s'unirono anco molti di questi Hussiti, quelli cioé de communicano 'sub utráque,' mostrando che per le transationi et constitutioni particolari del regno in materia di religione non si poteva fare alteratione dello stato presente ; sopra il quale articolo Sua Maestà disse che non appartene, a lei molto manco a loro conoscere sopra il fatto di religione ma apparteneva all pontefice Romano et alla chiesa aggiungendo che non era tempo parlar di questo" (from the State Archives, Venice).

[2] "Hieri mattina tornando Sua Maestà de mezza presenti tutti noi, li fu presentata una scrittura di non molta, decivano, sattisfatione di lei, alla quale bisognerà risposta che potria esser causa di maggior lunghezza et pratration della dieta con molto dispiacere di Sua Maestà" (Despatch of the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Michiel, dated Prague, April 14, 1567. From the State Archives, Venice).

formed part of the fundamental law of the land. He thus authorized the progress of Church reform beyond the very narrow limits which that instrument imposed. The real importance of this decree consisted in the implied sanction which it thus gave to the existence of the Lutheran Church and of the Unity of the Bohemian Brethren.

This concession did not insure religious tranquillity in Bohemia, particularly as Maximilian refused several other demands of the Estates. The incessant warfare with the Turks in Hungary obliged him continually to apply to the Estates for aid. The king, for this purpose, assembled a Diet at Prague in 1575. Matters affecting religion were again promptly brought forward by the Lutherans. It was their purpose to obtain the recognition in Bohemia of the so-called "Confession of Augsburg," in which the principal points of Luther's doctrine had been enumerated. This effort was opposed, not only by the Romanists, but also by the old-utraquists. One of the latter, John, Lord of Waldstein, the High Chamberlain, spoke strongly in favour of maintaining the old national (*i. e.* utraquist) Church, and opposed the acceptation of a "German religion." The Lutherans now entered into an alliance with the Bohemian Brethren; they presented to the king a joint profession of faith which is known as the "Confessio Bohemica." It was in most points identical with the "Confession of Augsburg," but differed from it in some important points. Among these was the doctrine concerning the sacrament of the holy communion: and on this point the Bohemian profession of faith coincided rather with the teaching of Calvin and the Bohemian Brethren than with that of Luther. The "Confessio Bohemica" contained twenty-five articles, and included proposals as to the organization of the utraquist Church. That Church had never recognized the authority of the Roman Catholic Archiepiscopate of Prague, an office reinstated by Ferdinand in 1561. It had, since the death of Archbishop John of Rokycan, been ruled by a Consistory, at the head of which was an "Administrator," who, together with the other members of the consistory was nominated by the king. The new proposal maintained the system of government by a Consistory Council, but it contained the important provision that the "Administrator" and the other members should in future be appointed by the Estates.

These demands placed Maximilian in a difficult position. At that moment he required the support of the Estates, not only for the purpose of obtaining aid in the Turkish war, but also to secure the election of his son Rudolph as King of Bohemia. The Pope, on the other hand, threatened him with excommunication should he make any further concessions to the "heretics." The Spanish branch of the house of Habsburg used all its influence towards the same end. After protracted negotiations a compromise was at last devised. The old Consistory, appointed by the king, continued to be the ruling body of the old-utraquist Church.

The Lutherans, however, who were now far the more numerous body, were exempted from its jurisdiction. They were authorized to choose fifteen "Defenders"—five from each of the three Estates—who were to have the supreme supervision over the Lutheran Church. The "Defenders" were authorized to appoint for each district a "Superintendent" (Moderator), whose office it was to maintain order and discipline among the clergy.

In consequence of their separation from the more advanced reformers the old-utraquists drew nearer and nearer to the Church of Rome. Through the influence of the papal nuncio the utraquist Consistory in 1587 secretly renounced the entire teaching of Hus with the exception of communion in the two kinds, and in 1593 the administrator Rezek, with 50 utraquist priests, declared Hus to be a heretic and acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope.

Though they had not succeeded in securing the control over the Bohemian utraquists, the Lutherans had obtained a very valuable concession by the recognition of their Church as a religious body under a separate administration. The coronation of Archduke Rudolph as King of Bohemia followed immediately afterwards (September 21, 1575), and Maximilian almost at once left the country. His hasty departure was caused by troubles concerning the succession to the Polish throne. Maximilian was preparing for war when he died (October 12, 1576), only forty-eight years of age.

Maximilian is one of the Bohemian kings of the house of Habsburg to whom history, perhaps in consequence of his enigmatic nature, has done scant justice. He has both among catholic and protestant historians found few friends. He possessed, what at that period was rare, a genuine feeling

of toleration and of respect for the religious views of others. It is true that this has by many been ascribed to indifference or scepticism, and it is almost certain that the king, when dying, refused to partake of the last sacrament. His well-known remark that the prince who would claim to rule over the consciences of men would usurp the throne of God, is at any rate a proof of an open-mindedness that was very rare in his time.

Rudolph, who had already been crowned King of Bohemia, was twenty-four years of age when he succeeded his father as ruler of that land. He also succeeded his father as Emperor of Germany and King of Hungary, and inherited from him Upper and Lower Austria. His accession at first caused apprehension among the Lutherans of Bohemia. Rudolph had been educated at the Spanish court, and it was rumoured that he had there acquired religious views of a more uncompromising character than his father's had been. His attitude during the later and more eventful years of his life, and the lack of interest which he always showed in religious controversies, render it probable that the teaching of the Spanish court made but a slight impression on him. From the beginning of his reign Rudolph fixed his residence at Prague, and thus in a manner that town became the capital of all the extensive dominions over which the Austrian branch of the house of Habsburg ruled.[1] The new king from the first showed a distinct tendency to melancholy, and a strong dislike to political affairs. The bent of his mind engrossed him in subjects detrimental to his position as an emperor, and which would better have befitted a wealthy person in private life. Rudolph from his earliest youth showed great interest in art, especially in painting, sculpture, and mosaic-work,

[1] Dr. Gindely, *Rudolph der Zweite und seine Zeit.* The fact that Prague had virtually become the capital of vast countries, together with Rudolph's marked interest in the arts, resulted in a great enlargement and embellishment of the town during his reign. Paul Stransky—no friend of the house of Habsburg—quotes the following epigram to this purpose—

> "Lignea prima fuit, posuit cum limina Pragae
> Jam tum surgenti prima Libussa suae
> Marmorea inde stetit postquam super aethera turres
> Extulit et magnas luxuriosa domos
> Jam non marmorea est non lignea at aurea tota
> Continua facta est sede Rodolphe tua."

while of the sciences, chemistry and astronomy interested him the most.[1]

The early part of the reign of Rudolph in Bohemia was uneventful, and, had he died in middle life, little mention of his name would be required. Constant theological strife, absorbing the whole intellectual activity of the country, was still the characteristic feature in Bohemia. The greatly increasing importance of Lutheranism, and the rapid decline of the old-utraquist, and, in a lesser degree, of the Roman, Church, have to be noted. The extinction of the latter Church was—according to the opinion of Dr. Gindely, the standard modern writer on this period of Bohemian history—only averted by the marvellous activity of the Jesuits. That order had at first not been numerous in Bohemia.[2] Its members, none the less, undertook the apparently impossible task of recovering for the Church of Rome the kingdom of Western Europe which had longest been estranged from it. Aided, it is true, by the force of arms, they were in the following century entirely successful. One of the methods employed by the Jesuits was that of acquiring influence over the wives of the great Bohemian nobles. Since the accession of the house of Habsburg to the Bohemian throne, many nobles had married ladies from Spain or the districts of Italy subject to the Spanish branch of the house of Habsburg. These ladies, strong Catholics by birth, used their influence in favour of their religion; it was said that they aided the Jesuits, when their means fell short, by gifts of money, clothing, and victuals.

With the exception of occasional disputes between the various religious bodies, Bohemia enjoyed internal and external peace during the first years of Rudolph's reign; and it was only after he had ruled for sixteen years that the ever-increasing encroachments of the Turks on Hungary obliged him to go to war with them. The seat of war was far from the Bohemian frontier, and it did not greatly disturb the tranquillity of the land. It was only through the annual contributions, which the Diets voted, that the weight of the war was felt.

This period of quiet in Bohemia would probably in no

[1] Dr. Gindely, *Rudolph der Zweite und seine Zeit.*

[2] In 1578, twenty years after their introduction, the Jesuit order only counted forty members.

case have lasted long. The Lutherans, through the gradua accession of the old-utraquists, now formed a large majorit of the population; they were also, in any dispute with th Catholics, certain of the support of the Brethren of the "Unity." It was therefore inevitable that the Lutherans should aspire to a predominant position in the country They had, indeed, already expressed their dissatisfactio when the king appointed Catholics to most of the grea offices of the State. The Catholics, on the other hand were impatient of the comparative freedom which the "here tics" enjoyed. This feeling increased when Archduke Ferdinand of Styria carried out what was called a "Catholic reformation" in that country. He suppressed all the liberties which his father had granted to the Protestants, and expelled all their ecclesiastics from his dominions.

Events were, however, precipitated by the mental illness of Rudolph. Though he had long had a tendency to melancholia, it was only in the year 1600 that traces o mental aberration were noticed in him. The other members of the Imperial family therefore suggested to Rudolph (who had no legitimate descendants) that he should appoint a successor; it was further proposed that this successor should in case of Rudolph's being incapacitated from governing, ac as his representative as German Emperor, and as King o Bohemia and Hungary. The enjoyment of the full honour of the throne was left to Rudolph. This scheme was particu larly countenanced by the Archduke Matthew, the eldest o Rudolph's brothers. An improvement in Rudolph's health however, soon took place, though he remained to the end o his life subject to fits of mental disease.[1] Henceforth, how ever, the state of Rudolph's health had a very detrimenta effect on his policy, which became indeed more active, bu was wanting in coherence, and tended to vary from on extreme to another. About the time of the beginning o Rudolph's illness a prophecy of the astronomer, Tych Brahé, had announced to him that he would share the fat of King Henry III of France. This greatly alarmed hin and inspired him with a violent dislike to the clergy, i whose ranks he believed that his murderer, as in the case o the French king, would be found. He therefore for a tim entirely ceased to attend religious services.

Only two years later Rudolph issued a decree (160

[1] Gindely.

renewing the enactments published in 1508 against the Bohemian Brethren by King Vladislav. This declaration, issued under totally different circumstances, menaced with death all who professed religious views other than those of the Catholics, and of the so-called old-utraquists, who differed from the Catholics only in maintaining the Compacts. This decree of Rudolph, which indirectly attacked the whole Lutheran community as well as the Bohemian Brethren, was publicly proclaimed in the streets of Prague with great solemnity; it caused, however, more surprise than fear. "It was noticed that no preparations had been made to enforce on nine-tenths of the population a decree to which it was certain that the force of arms alone would induce it to submit.[1]

This ill-advised proclamation appears to have been suggested to Rudolph by the papal nuncio, then resident at Prague. Though for the present it remained ineffective, it greatly irritated the Protestants.[2] When the Diet met at Prague (Jan. 9, 1603), the king's policy was sharply attacked by the leader of the Protestants, Venceslas Budovec, Lord of Budova, a noble belonging to the Unity of the Bohemian Brethren. The Estates strongly protested against Rudolph's decree. They declared it contrary to the promise of religious freedom which the late King Maximilian had made. They at first refused to vote the grants of money to obtain which the Diet had been summoned; but on the advice of Budova, finally consented to do so. The Estates had previously drawn up a "Remonstrance," which they intended to present to their king. Rudolph, however, immediately after he had obtained the wished-for supplies, declared the Diet closed (January 15, 1603). This step, as was natural, still further estranged the Bohemians from their king, at a moment when he was more than ever dependent on their support.

[1] Dr. Gindely, *Rudolph I und seine Zeit*, vol. i. p. 68. In the same work (vol. i. p. 179), Gindely says that during the first years of the seventeenth century certainly not a tenth part of the nobility of Bohemia, and a still smaller portion of the other classes, were Catholics. Catholicism must at this period have decreased rapidly, if we compare these figures with those Gindely gives for the sixteenth century. See note 1, p. 206.

[2] Following Gindely's example, I give this joint designation to the Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren when they acted in accord. From this period to the suppression of religious liberty in Bohemia this union was generally effective and real.

The adherents of the Roman Church in Bohemia were fully aware of the fact that the king was unable to afford them efficient aid; still his now openly avowed support encouraged them to assume an attitude by no means in conformity with the smallness of their number in the country. The Jesuit Landy, whom the Romanist Archbishop of Prague consulted, suggested the expulsion of all foreigners from the towns of Budějovice and Plzeň, which still contained many Catholics; by such means only, he said, could the contagion of "heresy" be prevented. The Catholic nobles, who, though not numerous, owned large portions of the land, now began to attempt the re-establishment of Catholicism on their estates. Jaroslav Borita, Lord of Martinic, was especially noted for his energetic attempts to force the peasants on his estates to return to the Church of Rome. He commanded them to be chased with his hounds, and thus forcibly driven into the churches where the Jesuits preached; and in order to re-establish communion in one kind, he insisted that the holy wafer should be forced down the throats of all his peasants whom he suspected of heresy.[1]

The attention of the militant religious parties was now for a time diverted to the family dissensions in the house of Habsburg. Ever since the failure of Rudolph's health his brother, the Archduke Matthew, had expressed himself in favour of depriving Rudolph of his Imperial and regal authority; though he had not at first contemplated his actual deposition. The events in Hungary now brought this plan again to the fore. The Imperial armies had at that period been successful against the Turks, and a considerable part of Hungary was for a time under Rudolph's rule. These successes and momentary enthusiasm for the Church of Rome induced Rudolph to attempt a "Catholic reformation" in Hungary. He published a decree founded on the ancient laws of Stephen—the first Christian king of Hungary—by which he menaced all who spoke in public about religious questions with the severest penalties. The numerous Protestants in Hungary, no doubt justly, con-

[1] "Baro de Martinic ferreo instrumento ore ad hiatum distento hostias injici subditis mandabat cogique ad idolorum ministerium" (Habernfeld). Recent historians, writing from a strongly Roman Catholic point of view, have, not very successfully, attempted to deny or at least to extenuate, the violence of Martinic and other Catholic nobles at this time.

sidered this as an attack on their creed; they immediately entered into an alliance with the Turks against Rudolph (1604). The Imperial troops were totally unable to resist the combined forces. Within a year from the publication of the fatal decree, Hungarian bands had penetrated beyond the frontier of the territories of the Bohemian crown. Crossing from Hungary into Moravia they devastated a considerable portion of that land. In this emergency the princes of the house of Habsburg met at Linz in consultation. They decided to address a joint remonstrance to Rudolph, begging him to cede the government of Hungary to the Archduke Matthew. They also expressed the wish that he would, in the absence of an heir to the throne, appoint a successor. Somewhat later, Archduke Matthew succeeded in obtaining a declaration from the Archdukes Ferdinand,[1] Maximilian, and Maximilian Ernest, by which they recognized him as the head of the house of Habsburg. The reason for this course was stated by them to be the grave condition of Rudolph's health, the loss of Hungary, and the devastation of other lands which had occurred in consequence; they also expressed their willingness to exercise their influence in favour of Matthew's election to the Imperial throne.

Rudolph had remained in a state of complete apathy during the misfortunes that befell the countries of which he was the nominal ruler. His conduct can indeed only be explained by the mental disease from which he suffered at times. Rudolph strongly distrusted his brother, the Archduke Matthew, whom, not without reason, he suspected of wishing to oust him from the throne. He long refused to authorize his brother to negotiate with the Hungarians. At last, partly through fear, he consented to do so; and Matthew concluded a treaty of peace with the Hungarians and with Turkey (1606). New difficulties, however, arose, as Rudolph now refused to ratify the treaty which had been concluded.

About this time, if not earlier, the Archduke Matthew began to contemplate the dethronement of his brother. There is little doubt that Matthew's conduct at this moment, whether morally justifiable or not, saved the house of Habsburg from complete ruin. That dynasty was at this period seriously menaced by the ambition of Henry IV

[1] Afterwards German Emperor under the name of Ferdinand II, as well as King of Bohemia and Hungary.

of France, and of his allies the Protestant princes of Germany Prince Christian of Anhalt,[1] the principal adviser of these princes, had at this moment already entered into close connection with some of the Protestant nobles of Bohemia particularly with Peter Vòk, Lord of Rosenberg.

The first impulse to combined action against Rudolph came, however, from Hungary, where his rule had always been unpopular. His refusal to ratify the treaty of peace with Turkey, and thus restore quiet to the land, caused general dissatisfaction. The feeling against Rudolph was in Austria[2] and Moravia nearly as strong as in Hungary and the nobles of these countries soon entered into negotiations with the Hungarian malcontents. Their first object however, was to come to a complete understanding among themselves. With the approval of the Archduke Matthew several of the leading nobles of Moravia and Austria met at Rossitz (in Moravia), under the pretext of affirming the necessity of the ratification of the treaty of peace with Turkey.

Subsequent events, however, render it certain that the real object of these deliberations—which were held in secret—was the deposition of Rudolph.

Shortly afterwards Archduke Matthew, still nominally as representative of his brother, convoked the Hungarian Diet at Presburg. Through the archduke's influence delegates from Lower and Upper Austria were also present. This very exceptional event was the result of Matthew's wish to unite the representatives of the various lands subject to Rudolph for the purpose of procuring his deposition. The racial enmities at this period for the moment disappeared and Slav, German, and Hungarian nobles acted in accord.

All present at the deliberations of Presburg solemnly pledged themselves to maintain the treaty with Turkey against all its opponents. The carefully-worded declaration was directly aimed at Rudolph, who still refused to sanction that treaty, and in effect the authority of the sovereign was by it tacitly suspended. Moravia very shortly followed the example of Austria and Hungary, principally through the

[1] Dr. Gindely's works, especially his *Rudolph II und seine Zeit*, show how great was the influence of Christian of Anhalt on the events in Bohemia at this period.

[2] The term "Austria" at this period, of course, indicates the Archduchy of Upper and Lower Austria.

influence of Charles, Lord of Žerotin. Žerotin belonged to the Unity of the Bohemian Brethren, and the vastness of his estates, combined with his great learning and piety, had raised him to the foremost rank among the nobles of Moravia. On his advice, and that of Charles, Lord of Liechtenstein, the Moravian Estates assembled at Ivančice. They here addressed to Rudolph remonstrances—similar to those of Austria and Hungary—concerning his refusal to ratify the treaty of peace with Turkey. They also made mention of special grievances of their own, principally referring to the conduct of Rudolph's officials in Moravia.

Archduke Matthew had meanwhile raised troops in Austria, and at their head he entered Moravia. His reception was of a very friendly character. Some of the Estates of that country had already been won over by Žerotin to his cause. On his arrival at the town of Znoymo, Matthew issued a proclamation (April 1608), declaring that as the oldest member of the house of Habsburg he had assumed the government of the countries which the incapacity of Rudolph had brought to the verge of ruin. He further stated that he now intended—accompanied by delegates of the Estates of Hungary, Upper and Lower Austria, and Moravia—to march to Bohemia. He called on the Estates of that country to meet him at Časlav on May 4, where a deliberation between the representatives of the various peoples and countries was to take place.

While the countries formerly subject to his rule were gradually slipping away from his control, Rudolph remained at Prague in a state of complete irresolution. He at last decided to assemble a "General Diet"[1] of the lands of the Bohemian Crown at Prague. Only the Estates of Bohemia, however, appeared on March 10, the day fixed for the meeting. Contrary to expectation, the result of their deliberations was favourable to Rudolph. After having given their approval to the meeting of a "General Diet," which was now fixed for April 14, the Estates authorized the king to take the necessary steps for the defence of the country. This declaration, according to the traditions of the country, authorized the king to call out the whole armed force of the land.

[1] The ordinary Diets consisted of delegates of Bohemia only. The "General Diet" at this period, included also representatives of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia.

The attitude of the Bohemian Estates at this moment i in singular contrast with their former dislike to their king and it is difficult to give a satisfactory account of the reason for it. It seems probable that the independent action of Moravia, which had, though to an ill-defined and varying extent, always been considered a dependency of the Bohemian crown, irritated the Bohemian nobles. It is also probable that the influence of Peter of Rosenberg encouraged the Estates to support Rudolph, and consequently to decline meeting the Archduke Matthew. Rosenberg was on terms of intimacy with Christian of Anhalt, who had made the destruction of the house of Habsburg the object of his life.[1] Astute politician as he was, Anhalt cannot but have seen that the substitution of a more energetic prince as head of the German branch of the Habsburg dynasty would not be favourable to his purpose. The prolongation of the contest between Rudolph and his brother was probably the object of Anhalt's wishes, and it seems likely that he therefore advised Rosenberg and his friends, who had previously been in communication with Matthew, not to support him.

Rudolph's state of health, however, rendered him unable to take full advantage of the temporary feeling in his favour among the Bohemians; Archduke Matthew's forces had meanwhile entered Bohemia. During the march and after his arrival at Časlav, Matthew received repeated messages from his brother proposing a peaceful agreement. Cardinal Dietrichstein, at this moment Rudolph's most influential adviser, made no less than five journeys to Matthew's camp as bearer of proposals of peace. The Spanish ambassador at Prague also made efforts to effect a reconciliation between the two brothers. But for the present Matthew declined all proposals of peace, and demanded that Rudolph should abdicate and leave Bohemia.

The Estates of Bohemia, who, as already mentioned had declined Matthew's invitation to Časlav, again met at Prague. Though April 14 had previously been agreed on as the day of meeting, the deliberations only began on May 23. On this occasion, also, Bohemia was alone represented. As had now become customary, the Estates immediately applied to the king for the redress of their

[1] The expression "terminus fatalis domus Austriacae" is quoted by Gindely from Anhalt's correspondence of this time.

grievances. Commissioned by them, their leader Budovec of Budova drew up their demands in twenty-five "articles"; these were presented to the king, signed by three hundred nobles and knights, and by the representatives of all the towns of Bohemia, with the exceptions of Plzeň, Budějovice, and Kaaden. The "articles" demanded that the Bohemian Confession[1] should be included among the fundamental lewi of the land, and that complete religious freedom should be granted to all classes. This stipulation would have conferred freedom of belief also on the peasants, who were then serfs or bondmen, and it was therefore in opposition to the prevailing ideas of the period. It undoubtedly originated from Budova himself, whose greater culture and more enlightened views distinguished him from the other members of his party.[2] Budova may also have thought it politic to obtain for the Protestants the support of the masses; for only with that support could they hope to resist the desperate attack which—as he certainly foresaw—awaited them as soon as the then divided strength of the house of Habsburg was reunited. The other "articles" demanded that Protestants and Catholics should have equal right to the offices of State, that the right of the Jesuits to acquire land should be limited, and that foreigners should be ineligible for the dignity of Archbishop of Prague. The other "articles" referred to various grievances concerning the administration of the country, which through the apathy of Rudolph had fallen into a state of great disorder; and to several other matters of minor importance. It was practically impossible for Rudolph to resist these demands. Archduke Matthew was marching rapidly on Prague, and there was no doubt that, influenced as he then was by Žerotin, the leader of the Unity in Moravia, he would immediately accept the twenty-five "articles" in their entirety should the Bohemians recognize him as their king. Rudolph, however, still hesitated. He finally gave his approval to some of the articles, but said that others, principally those referring to religious matters, should be reserved for the consideration of the next Diet, where they should have precedence over all other subjects of discussion. The Protestant Estates, on Budova's advice, accepted

[1] See p. 214.

[2] "Mit starken Räuschen": Gindely, quoting a contemporary manuscript.

this compromise, and declined to accept the advice of Žerotin, who had been sent by Archduke Matthew to Prague, not only as envoy, but also to promote the recognition of that prince as king. A temporary agreement between the king and the Estates having been arrived at, Archduke Matthew rightly judged that he had no immediate hope of gaining Bohemia. His army had arrived close to Prague, and it was at Libeň, within a short distance of that city, that a treaty of peace was concluded between the two brothers (June 25, 1608). According to this treaty Rudolph remained sovereign of Bohemia; but Hungary, Moravia, and Upper and Lower Austria were ceded to Matthew. The restoration of peace was celebrated in the archduke's camp by a banquet, to which the Bohemian nobles who had sided with Rudolph were also invited They returned to Prague "very intoxicated."[1] The archduke's forces almost immediately after the treaty left Bohemia, where some of them, particularly Matthew's Hungarian soldiers, had committed great depredations.

The Diet which was to regulate the religious affairs of Bohemia only met on January 28, 1609: it was one of the most momentous assemblies with which this sketch of the country's history has to deal. A detailed account of the prolonged discussions which ensued would be beyond the purpose of this book; the final success of the hopes of the Protestant Estates was, however, beyond doubt from the first. From this moment until that of his death, Rudolph displayed an implacable and perhaps not unnatural enmity to his brother. Rudolph had attempted (soon after Matthew had obtained possession of Austria) to outbid him for the favour of the Protestants of that country, and he had even entered into negotiations with Christian of Anhalt. This was as well known to the Bohemian Protestants as was the

[1] The influence of Budova sprang from his learning and affability of manners. Long residence in most of the countries of Europe, and familiarity with many languages, alike contributed to distinguish him. Since his return to Bohemia he had employed his time partly as an author, partly as leader of his party in the Diet. Being one of the most ardent adherents of the Unity of the Bohemian Brethren, he was in closer contact with the people than most other nobles; for the nobles of the Unity put no restraint on the consciences of their dependents and showed due consideration to creeds differing from their own. Their attitude necessarily produced a favourable impression on the masses (Gindely, *Rudolph II*).

fact that Rudolph had, in consequence, no hope of aid from Spain or from the Catholics of Germany. Having these facts in view, we can only account for his next step by the vacillation induced by his frail state of health. Acting probably under the influence of the High Chancellor Zdeněk of Lobkowitz, a fanatical Romanist, Rudolph at first assumed a most uncompromising attitude towards the Protestants. He demanded that the petition which the Estates had addressed to him during Matthew's invasion (the so-called Twenty-five Articles), with the signatures attached to it, should be delivered up to him for destruction. He declared that he considered that the contents of that document constituted a confederacy formed without his permission, and therefore an act of rebellion. The Estates, adroitly using this demand to their own advantage, chose twelve of their number who were to present the petition to Rudolph with its signatures, "so that the king might learn the names of his faithful subjects." Among the members of this deputation was Henry Matthew, Count Thurn, a foreigner and a German, who was not even thoroughly acquainted with the Bohemian language; he was none the less now beginning to obtain influence in the country, more through his resolution and self-confidence than through his talents.

Rudolph, seeing the impossibility of maintaining his former uncompromising attitude, once more gave way, and consented to the religious question being brought before the Diet. The Estates now, as in the previous year, demanded the recognition of the Bohemian Confession of 1575; they presented a petition to this purpose by a new deputation consisting of ten members. Rudolph returned no immediate answer. He demanded that a copy of the "Confessio Bohemica" should be presented to him, and then showed it to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Prague, and to the papal nuncio. As was to be expected, the two ecclesiastics expressed unfavourable opinions of the Confession. Rudolph at last decided to reply by letter to the petition. He demanded the complete acceptation of the Roman faith and ritual, with the only exception that communion might still be received by laymen in both kinds. He called on the Estates to recognize the authority of the Catholic Archbishop of Prague, and to expel all heretical preachers. The Estates considered this letter to

be contrary to the decree of the Emperor Maximilian II,[1] whereby the Compacts (the formula containing the view of the old-utraquist party) had been suppressed. The first result of the royal message was the cessation of a temporary disagreement which had arisen between the Lutherans and the Bohemian Brethren. Under the guidance of Count Thurn, who urged "that since the king had only recognized the existence of the Roman Catholics and of the utraquists, both the other Churches were in equal danger," they resolved to unite against the common enemy. Practically ignoring the king's message, the Estates decided to elect a committee, which was to define more accurately their demands with regard to the religious question. The Protestants now again not only demanded the recognition of the "Confessio Bohemica," but put forward further claims. They insisted that the Consistory (the governing body of the utraquist Church) and the University of Prague should be placed under the direction of the Protestants (*i.e.* of the united Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren). They founded their demand on the fact that the Roman Catholics also had the management of their own religious institutions. It is certain that the two now united Churches comprised an enormous majority of the population, while the so-called "old" or Catholic utraquists, who still controlled the Consistory, since the year 1593 no longer existed as a body distinct from the Roman Church.

Rudolph's advisers replied in writing, and an exchange of messages—four on each side—took place between them and the Estates. These communications in no way advanced matters. Rudolph at last (March 31, 1609) declared to a deputation of the Estates that addressed him, that he was unable to make any concessions with regard to ecclesiastical affairs; and expressed a wish that the Estates would now turn their attention to other matters. This specially referred to the king's pecuniary requirements, the discussion of which had been postponed till after the religious matters had been settled. The high burgrave, Adam, Lord of Sternberg, a fervent Roman Catholic, made a similar statement to the full assembly of the Estates; he added that the king was resolved to close the Diet if the Estates did not comply with his wish. Budova thereupon exclaimed loudly: "Whoever loves his salvation, his king, and the good of his country

[1] Maximilian I as King of Bohemia.

whoever desires to increase union and mutual love, whoever remembers the fervour of our ancestors, whoever holds his honour precious, let him appear here[1] to-morrow morning at six o'clock." Aided by some of his friends, Budova during the night drew up a declaration justifying the attitude of the Estates, and couched in very firm language. After explaining that it was impossible for the Estates to debate on other subjects before the ecclesiastical matters were settled, this document announced their intention to arm in defence of their king, their country, and their personal safety. The Estates declined further correspondence with the king, as he did not appear to wish it: they were, however, decided to resist with force of arms whatever injury might be done to any one of their number. This declaration received the approval of a large meeting of Protestants, which took place in the town-hall of the Nové Město early in the morning (April 1). The Protestants then proceeded to the Diet, and Budova read out their declaration. Immediately afterwards the supreme burgrave declared the Diet dissolved.

This ill-considered step was, from the point of view of the Bohemians, nothing less than a *coup d'état*. In view of the king's health, he can by no means be considered its originator. The king's counsellors, Lobkowitz and Sternberg, and the papal nuncio—for whom total ignorance of Bohemian affairs afforded some excuse—must bear the responsibility. Without any previous preparations to enforce the royal authority, they recklessly attempted to resist the will of nine-tenths of the Bohemian people.

Before leaving Prague, the nobles and knights of Bohemia decided to reassemble there within a month. This resolution accentuated their revolutionary attitude, for the old customs of Bohemia reserved to the king the right to assemble the Estates of the realm. As early as the end of April, many Protestant lords returned to Prague; they had meanwhile armed their retainers on their lands. The Estates were soon assembled in great numbers, and it was said that never since the Hussite wars had so many

[1] As will be mentioned presently, the meeting of the Protestants, contrary to Budova's words, took place in the town-hall of the Nové Město, not on the Hradčany, where the Estates met. The cause of this was probably the desire to exclude the Roman Catholic members of the Diet.

nobles and knights been seen at Prague. The town-hall of the Neustadt had again been fixed on as the place of meeting, but the Estates, wishing to maintain the appearance of legality, petitioned Rudolph to allow them to assemble in the royal palace on the Hradčany,[1] the usual meeting-place of the Diet. Budova, accompanied by a large number of his supporters, called on the burgrave to urge this demand. The answer was a direct negative. The burgrave, however, promised that the king would shortly again convoke the Estates. Budova left the palace on the Hradčany where the interview had taken place, and announced the failure of his mission to his adherents, many of whom had been waiting at the gates of the castle. All present thereupon lifted their hands to heaven, and swore to remain united; they further decided to meet in the town-hall of the Nové Město, or new town, and they henceforth held almost daily meetings there. Budova was for the moment the undisputed leader of the movement, which through his influence acquired a devotional, and, indeed, somewhat puritanic character. When Budova presided over the deliberations of the Estates he called on all present to join him in prayer; all then knelt down and sang a hymn. The Estates decided to forward another message to the king in defence of their conduct, which, as already noted, was contrary to the constitutional traditions. They also determined again to beg him to summon a regular Diet. To draw up this petition they chose four lawyers, two of whom were Lutherans, and two Brethren of the Unity. When they had finished their work, it was laid before the king by six representatives of the Estates. Budova was again at the head of the deputation. Great excitement reigned at Prague at the moment of its reception by the king. The interview lasted very long, and the report that the delegates had been imprisoned in the castle was circulated in the town. A large crowd assembled round the Jesuit monastery, in the new town, prepared to make reprisals on those who were known to be the chief opponents of the wishes of the country. The rumour was, however, false. Budova and his companions returned unharmed, and the report now circulated in the town that the king had acceded to the wishes of the people.

[1] The enormous palace, or rather series of palaces, on the Hradčany included the residence of the king and of the great State officials, a

This report was not unfounded. The great state of excitement at Prague, where the streets were crowded by the noisy retinue of the numerous nobles and knights, had not escaped the king's notice, even in his seclusion on the summit of the Hradčany; he had in consequence fallen into a state of complete nervous prostration. Hannewald, one of the few among his councillors whom the king trusted, advised him—contrary to the wishes of the papal nuncio and of the Spanish ambassador—to come to terms with the Protestants. The Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga, had just returned to Prague from Gratz, where he had visited the Archduke Ferdinand, who governed Styria. On his return, Zuñiga had immediately laid before Rudolph his —or perhaps the archduke's—views, namely, that only a resolute attitude would intimidate the Protestants. The ambassador had been confirmed in this opinion by the panic which he believed his entry into Prague at the head of a body-guard of fifty men had caused. Zuñiga therefore attempted to strike terror in the hearts of the Bohemians. While waiting for an audience in the antechambers of the royal castle, he, in the presence of numerous Protestants, addressed Count Sultz, one of the courtiers, in very strong words, begging him to advise the king to resist the demands of the Protestants, and promising him the full support of Spain. This foolish bravado had a contrary effect to the one desired. Rudolph requested the ambassador to appear no longer in the antechambers of the castle, and was more than ever inclined to rely on Hannewald's advice. He therefore now decided that the Estates should, with his sanction, reassemble on the Hradčany on May 25, and that the religious question should be the first subject for debate.

This decision, of which Budova and his colleagues were informed, was considered as satisfactory by the Estates, and the agitation among the people of Prague for the time subsided. The Estates again met in the royal castle on the Hradčany on May 25.[1] Rudolph having addressed no message to the Diet, the Estates again drew up a memorandum formulating their demands. The most important of them

well as the seat of the supreme courts of justice and the meeting-place of the Diets.

[1] It is worthy of notice, as a proof of the decline of Romanism in Bohemia at this period, that of the nobles, knights, and town representatives present, only one-tenth belonged to that Church (Gindely).

again dealt with the recognition of the "Confessio Bohemica" by the State, and of the claims of the Protestants that the Consistory Council and the University should be placed under their control.

Before the memorandum had been submitted to the king, consideration hostile to the Bohemians had once more prevailed in his vacillating mind. Archduke Leopold, a younger brother of Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, arrived at Prague at this moment. He for a time ingratiated himself with Rudolph, who (animated by his dislike to his brother Matthew) seriously thought of declaring Leopold his successor. It is to this archduke, a fervent Romanist, and to the Spanish ambassador Zuñiga, that the altered tone of Rudolph's message in reply to the Estates (June 5) must be attributed. He declared that he would extend to the Protestants the same degree of toleration which they had enjoyed under Ferdinand I; he thus withdrew even the concessions made to them by the more liberal-minded sovereign, Maximilian II.

The Protestants considered this decision as a declaration of war. Count Thurn declared in the Diet that there had been enough useless talk, that the moment for action had arrived, and that the country must immediately take up arms. The committee appointed by the Estates had meanwhile drawn up three documents. Ignoring the royal message, which purported to decide the question, these documents were now brought before the Estates and immediately approved of by them. The first, in the form of an address to the king—to whom, however, it was never presented—informed him that the Protestant Estates, having now fully stated their arguments, would no longer appeal to him in defence of their creed. The second document contained a severe and detailed criticism of Rudolph's policy: this had not been prepared with a view to presentation to the sovereign. Written rather as a proclamation to the people, it ended with the announcement that a general armament of the country would be necessary, and must shortly take place. The third, and by far the most important work of the committee, was a minute detailing the concessions which the Protestants considered necessary as guarantees of their freedom and autonomy. It is significant of the confidence felt by the Protestants that, in spite of Rudolph's apparently uncompromising attitude, they should have

drawn up this document at this moment. It is this draft that was finally accepted by the king, and is known as the celebrated "Letter of Majesty."

Only the last-named document was presented to Rudolph by a deputation of the Estates (June 13). The king's answer, though more conciliatory than some of his former communications, did not satisfy the Protestants. He promised to continue to the Protestants the enjoyment of all the rights which they had had during the reign of Maximilian.[1] The king, however, insisted on retaining complete authority over the utraquist Consistory and over the University. If we consider the bitter theological animosity of the age, it will not appear surprising that the Protestants were not prepared to concede this point. Had they done so, they would have admitted the right of a sovereign—himself a Romanist—to appoint as rulers of their Church men who acknowledged the authority of the Roman creed though they differed from it with regard to communion in both kinds. It was impossible for an assembly in which an enormous majority were Lutherans and Brethren of the Unity, to accept the king's demand. His message was, therefore, considered by the Protestants as a refusal of their demands, and it served in fact only to increase their opposition. The project of arming the country was further advanced, and—as it was difficult for such an unwieldy body as the Estates to exercise executive functions—thirty "Directors" were chosen from among the members of the Diet. These, as Gindely says, practically constituted a provisional government. Three generals, the foremost of whom was Count Thurn, were also appointed by the Estates, and the enrolment of troops began, a special tax having been voted for this purpose. The Estates of Silesia concluded an alliance with those of Bohemia for mutual defence, and there also the armament of the people was undertaken.

The danger of civil war, which now seemed inevitable, induced the Elector of Saxony to attempt to mediate. Himself a Lutheran, he had strong claims on the confidence of the Estates. Dr. Gerstenberger, the Elector's ambassador at Prague, in his master's name proposed a compromise. The free profession of the "Confessio Bohemica" was to be

[1] As has been noticed previously, the position of the Protestants had been more secure during the reign of that prince than during that of his father, Ferdinand I.

allowed to all; Catholics were to be allowed to adopt th Protestant, and Protestants the Catholic, creed; all membe of the Diet were to have the right of building churche and schools without any distinction of creed; the supe vision and direction of the Consistory and of the Universit were to remain in the hands of the king.

These terms, if immediately accepted by the king, woul perhaps have satisfied the Estates. Rudolph, howeve declared that he would only sanction Gerstenberger's pr posals if it were agreed that the liturgy of the old-utraquis should be retained by the Protestants. This objectio naturally caused a fatal delay. The Protestants disliked t confide the direction of their Church to a sovereign wh professed a creed different from their own, and the less co ciliatory party among the Estates at last got the upper han When the burgrave announced to the Diet the king's d cision, as mentioned above, the Protestants declared th the negotiations were fruitless, and must be broken of many even left Prague and returned to their castles to co plete their armaments. The "Directors," who establishe themselves in the town-hall of the Staré Město (old town Prague) acted as a provisional government, and directed th general arming of the country. Rudolph was again entirel helpless, and—probably again on the advice of Hannewald decided to abandon his undignified and hopeless resistanc By his order the supreme burgrave invited the Diet to resu its sittings, and the king on July 9, 1609, signed the Lett of Majesty. The Estates had previously consented to th substitution of the word "utraquist" for that of "evangelical which had been used in the draft submitted to the king.

By the Letter of Majesty the Protestant Estates ob tained the recognition of the "Confessio Bohemica," and th right of supervision over the University, and were authorize henceforth to elect the members of the Consistory. The were further empowered to appoint "Defenders," who we to be chosen in equal number from among the Protesta nobles, the knights, and town representatives. The ill-define office of the "Defenders" implied in reality the duty of actin as the guardian of the rights of the Protestants. On the sam day, another equally important but far less celebrated doc ment was signed. This was an Agreement between th Protestants and Romanists, or, to use the official design tion, the Estates "sub utrâque" and those "sub unâ."

this Agreement they guaranteed to each other full liberty of religious worship, which was to be extended to the peasants also; the full right of the Protestants to appoint priests to the livings in their gift was recognized, and it was further agreed that on the lands of the crown[1] both religious parties should be allowed to worship freely according to their creed, and to build churches.

This last provision requires special notice. The great Hussite revolution had been followed by a complete confiscation of the property of the Romanist Church in Bohemia; the poverty of the clergy being one of the most important points of the early Hussite creed, and one that is specially referred to in the Compacts. Through the good-will of King Sigismund and his successors—all of whom, with the exception of George of Poděbrad, were Romanists—the Catholic Church had again received gifts of land and other property. These gifts were, however, assumed to have been made temporarily to individuals, and the Church property continued legally to be a portion of the lands of the crown; this fiction was undoubtedly maintained out of respect to the strong feeling of the utraquists on this matter.

For the same reason the clergy did not, till after the complete reaction which followed the battle of the White Mountain, constitute one of the Estates of the realm. The right of building churches, granted to those who dwelt on the lands of the crown, therefore included those who lived on and owned by the Church. It is this question that was—nine years later—the immediate cause of the Thirty Years' War, the Archbishop of Prague having caused the Protestant Church of Hrob[2] to be destroyed while the Abbot of Břevnov closed a church in the town of Broumov which was under his authority.[3]

[1] The estates belonging to the king and the towns under his immediate sovereignty, and enjoying special immunities, were thus designated. They were in this way distinguished from the estates of the nobles and the towns which were built on land belonging to nobles.

[2] In German "Klostergrab."

[3] This important question is fully elucidated by Dr. Gindely. In his earlier work (*Geschichte der Ertheilung des Böhmischen Majestätsbriefes*) the great Bohemian historian attempted to defend the conduct of the Archbishop of Prague and of the Abbot of Břevnov. He then only considered the Letter of Majesty, ignoring the Agreement signed at the same time. In his *Rudolph II und seine Zeit*, Dr. Gindely with great frankness modifies his former opinion. The right of Protestants to build churches on lands owned by Roman ecclesiastics was

The momentary settlement obtained through the Lett of Majesty and the Agreement signed on the same da which afterwards received the king's approval, did not lon ensure peace to Bohemia. Its provisions have consequent always been subjected to very hostile comment, specially b writers of strong papal bias. To those who examine th numerous contemporary records with impartiality, it wi perhaps be apparent that under more favourable circum stances these charters might have secured to Bohemia much-required respite from theological strife. It is certa that from this date the attitude of the Protestants ceased be an aggressive, and henceforth became a distinctly defe sive, one.[1]

Neither the provisions of the Letter of Majesty nor th conduct of the Protestants suffice to explain the fact th troubles so soon recommenced in Bohemia. These troubl are rather to be attributed to the circumstance (the caus of which are beyond the scope of this book) that the polic of the Spanish court became more active and aggressiv about the beginning of the seventeenth century. We mu also take into account the success with which the Archduk Ferdinand (whose accession to the throne of Bohem appeared more and more probable) had carried out th "Catholic Reformation" in Styria, a success which raise the hopes and increased the energy of the Jesuits and oth enthusiasts for the Roman cause in Bohemia.

The last years of the reign of Rudolph are of litt interest, compared with the momentous events of 1608 ar 1609. The king's only concern seems to have been h desire for revenge on his brother Matthew, who had d

undeniable. The Protestant citizens of Hrob and Broumov had the la on their side.

[1] The Protestants of Bohemia, even after they had risen in ar against King Matthew (in 1618), maintained that the stipulations of t Letter of Majesty and the Agreement, if faithfully carried out, wo have completely satisfied them. In the letter addressed to King Jame of England by the "Directors" (dated Prague, Nov. 3 (New Styl 1618), they stated that "post multa certamina singulari Dei providen a Rudolpho Secundo Imperatore, et Rege Nostro beatae memoriae n modo libertas religionis nobis evangelicis concessa sed etiam diploma Caesareo stabilita et a moderno etiam Caesare domino nostro clement simo solemniter confirmata, sanctaque pax et libertas religionis in nos Evangelicos sub Utrâque et Pontificios sub Unâ vulgo nomina erecta fuit" (from the copy of the letter preserved in the St Archives, Venice).

prived him of Hungary, Austria, and Moravia. He chose his cousin, the Archduke Leopold, as the instrument of his vengeance. He appears to have promised him the succession to the Bohemian throne, thus infringing on the rights of Matthew, whom the Estates—on Rudolph's own recommendation—had recognized, as well as on those of Ferdinand of Styria, Leopold's elder brother. The king and Archduke Leopold, it is clear, also aimed at the suppression of the concessions recently granted to the Protestants, and at the forcible re-establishment of the Catholic Church in Bohemia. There is, however, little positive evidence as to the object of Rudolph's varying schemes at this period. With his approval, Archduke Leopold, who was bishop of Strassburg and Passau, assembled an armed force near the latter town. The religious troubles then prevailing in Germany afforded a pretext. The troops of Leopold, commanded by Lawrence Ramées (or Romeo) in the year 1611, marched into Bohemia and obtained possession of Budějovice, Tabor, Krumlov and other towns in the south of the country. They committed great cruelties during their march,[1] and after having arrived before Prague stormed the Malá Strana, the part of the town situated on the left bank of the Vltava. Archduke Leopold now joined his troops, and they attempted to obtain possession of the other parts of Prague. They were, however, repulsed by the soldiers under Count Thurn, whom the Estates—anxious for their recently-acquired liberties—had hastily equipped. Rudolph's brother, King Matthew of Hungary, also came to the aid of the Bohemian Estates. He not unnaturally considered his right of succession to the Bohemian throne as imperilled by Leopold's action. That prince now (March 1611) left Bohemia as suddenly as he had appeared there. The Estates of Bohemia, suspecting their king of being the originator of this sudden invasion of the country, forced him to abdicate. Matthew became King of Bohemia, and the dependent lands, Silesia and Lusatia, also recognized him as their sovereign. Rudolph, who had been in failing health for some time, did not long

[1] A contemporary French newsletter (Arras 1611) states: "Romeo continuant son chemin vers Prague avec l'armée Leopoldienne donna une telle espouvante aux Bohemiens par ou il passa que craignans plus les siens que les Turcs mesmes, ils abandonnoient leurs maisons et leurs biens pour s'exempter de tumber sous leur cruauté!"

survive his final dethronement. He died on January 20 1612. Matthew was then also chosen as Emperor by th German Electors.

The policy of Matthew with regard to the religious affair of Bohemia underwent a change when the twelve years' struggle between him and his brother came to an end. H amicable relations with the Protestant leaders, such a Žerotin and Rosenberg, were broken off about this time Distrust of the new king can easily be traced in the de mands which the Estates addressed to him even before h coronation. Five points were specially brought forward, a embodying the wishes of the Estates. The most importan among the concessions demanded were the right of th Diet to assemble without royal authorization, and the righ to levy troops. The king conceded only one point of minc importance. He gave his sanction to the treaty of allianc which the Bohemian Protestants had (1609) concluded wit the Estates of Silesia in defence of their faith. On th other points, among which were the two of most importance the king reserved his decision.

The peace with Turkey which Matthew had concluded (in 1606) did not secure permanent tranquillity in Easter Europe. Matthew, forced to renewed warfare with the Turks was obliged to apply for aid to the Estates of the man countries over which the German branch of the house o Habsburg ruled. He first appealed to a representativ assembly, which consisted of deputies from all the lands o the Bohemian crown,[1] from Hungary, and from Upper an Lower Austria. Representatives of Styria (which wit Carinthia and Carniola was then governed by the Archduk Ferdinand) and of the Tyrol were also present. Th assembly, remarkable as the only one in which representative of almost all the lands now constituting the Austro-Hungaria Empire [2] sat in one parliamentary body, was entirely abortiv When the deputies met at Linz (1614), it soon appeare that their only purpose was the further limitation of th sovereign power in the different States which they represente They declined all contributions towards the expenses of th war against Turkey. Frustrated in this plan, Matthew wa obliged to appeal to the assemblies of the different countri

[1] See p. 178.

[2] Dalmatia, Galicia and the Bukowina only became part of th Habsburg dominions many years later.

which, though all owing allegiance to him, still possessed separate political and representative institutions. Limiting our account to Bohemia, we will only mention the fact that Matthew convoked a "General Diet" of the lands of the Bohemian crown at Prague in the following year (1615). Here also the king's attempts to obtain grants of money and men for the Turkish war were entirely fruitless. The attitude of the Estates was one of direct opposition to the king, and they seem from this moment, if not earlier, to have prepared for an open conflict with the crown. Moravia being represented at this "General Diet," the Estates attempted to conclude with that country an alliance similar to the one that already existed between them and the Estates of Silesia. These negotiations were unsuccessful, as no agreement could be arrived at on the old standing question as to the constitutional relationship of Moravia to Bohemia. The Diet, probably contrary to the king's wishes, also turned its attention to the national question, which the religious troubles had recently thrown into the background. Special enactments were framed to favour the Bohemian language, as against the use of German or other foreign tongues. The Bohemian language was also by vote of the Estates declared to be the "authorized" official language of the country.

Matthew was well advanced in years when he obtained the Bohemian crown; and being, like his brother Rudolph, childless, he was soon obliged to take into consideration the succession to the Bohemian throne. It was at that period still an unsettled question whether the crown was hereditary. In Bohemia—as in Hungary—the princes of the Habsburg dynasty had several times obtained the coronation of their heirs during their lifetime, thus avoiding a contest when the crown became vacant. This was now Matthew's object. As his two surviving brothers were also childless, he resolved with their consent to nominate the next heir, Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, to be his successor.

The Diet, which was to decide the momentous question as to the succession, met at Prague on June 5, 1617. That Matthew knew well the difficulty of gaining his object is shown by the attempts at intimidation made by the high burgrave, Adam, Lord of Sternberg. The burgrave, before the sittings of the Diet commenced, had requested all the more important State officials and councillors to appear at his apartments on the Hradčany. With the exception of

Count Thurn, who held the office of Burgrave of t
Karlstein, they all accepted the invitation. Sternberg re
to them the royal message, requesting the recognition
Ferdinand's right of succession to the throne; he add
that the king was firmly resolved to enforce the successi
of Ferdinand, and it would therefore be better for them
accept the royal decision peacefully and willingly, and th
secure their future king's favour, rather than exasperate h
by futile opposition.[1]

The officials, and subsequently the whole body of t
Estates, for the moment fell in with Sternberg's views, a
Thurn was almost alone in opposing King Matthe
project. He asserted that the Estates had the right
electing the future king, and suggested that Ferdina
should be "elected," instead of "recognized" as King
Bohemia; he further contested the validity of any vote
to the succession which was taken in the absence of de
gates from Moravia and Silesia. Finally, the Estat
against the two votes of Thurn and Colonna of Fe
"recognized" Ferdinand as King of Bohemia. Ferdina
then confirmed all the privileges of the land—among whi
the Letter of Majesty was specially mentioned—and he w
crowned as king with great solemnity on June 19, 1617.

After Ferdinand's election, and under his influence, t
policy of Matthew became more aggressive towards t
Protestants; in fact, his object was now undoubted
the extirpation of Protestantism. Immediately after th
had secured temporary freedom by the Letter of Majes
the Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren had come to
agreement by which the new appointments to the Consisto
Council were equitably divided between the two sectio
of the party. This agreement on so important a matt
naturally strengthened the Protestants, and therefore great
disappointed the Romanist clergy. The Jesuits in particul
had previously stated that "the Calvinists and Luthera
were so opposed to one another that the Roman Catholi
had good hope to see their devilish craft perish throu
their own machinations, and to see the heretics destroy ea
other."[2]

The Jesuit advisers of Ferdinand openly declared that t
present moment was a "golden opportunity for extirpati
the heretics." The menacing tone of the Roman cler

[1] Gindely. [2] Dr. Sölti, *Der Religionskrieg in Deutschland*,

naturally caused grave apprehensions in Bohemia; and the alarm was intensified by numerous Protestant refugees from Ferdinand's territory who had sought refuge in Bohemia, and who vividly described the persecution which they had endured.

The growing alarm and resentment of the Protestants increased when it became known that Count Thurn, who was a strong Protestant, had, probably in consequence of his vote on the question of the succession, been dismissed from his high office of Burgrave of the Karlstein. Though another less lucrative office was conferred on the count, his dismissal caused great indignation. The archives, and with them the documents confirming the privileges of the kingdom, were preserved at Karlstein: it was believed that the Government wished to place the custody of these valuable documents in the hands of some more pliant official.

Archduke Ferdinand and his councillors, in fact, determined to establish the "Catholic Reformation" in Bohemia as soon as circumstances permitted. King Matthew, who was more moderate in his views, was in failing health, so that the accession of Ferdinand might be shortly anticipated. On the other hand, the number and influence of the Bohemian Protestants rendered it certain that they would not submit to coercion as peacefully as their co-religionists in Styria had done. Civil war in Bohemia was therefore inevitable, and the smallest spark would suffice to produce an explosion.

Immediately after the publication of the Letter of Majesty, the Protestant citizens of the towns of Broumov and Hrob had began to build churches; the last-named town formed part of the domains of the Roman Archbishop of Prague, while the former was subject to the Abbot of Březnov. Encouraged by the Protestant Estates, the citizens proceeded with the building of these churches, disregarding the remonstrances of the two ecclesiastics. The question as to their right to do so has been already alluded to, and from recently-adduced evidence it now appears certain that the citizens had right on their side.[1] The archbishop and the abbot had from the first protested against the erection of these churches, but it was only after Ferdinand's coronation that they resorted to more energetic measures. In December (1617) the Archbishop of Prague caused the Protestant

[1] See note 3, p. 235.

church at Hrob to be totally destroyed, while the abbot was satisfied with closing that at Broumov. This event, as was inevitable, was immediately brought to the knowledge of the "Defenders," to whom the Letter of Majesty had specially committed the protection of the interests of the Protestants. Previous attempts to remonstrate with the officials of King Matthew had convinced the "Defenders" that no redress could be obtained from them. They therefore decided to convoke a General Assembly of the Protestants. The Agreement of 1609 had empowered them, if necessary, to invite the Protestants to such meetings. This Assembly first met on March 5, 1618, and the knights and nobles were present in great numbers, while only a few representatives of the towns had the courage to appear. The State officials had, in fact, used all their influence on the townsmen to dissuade them from attending the meeting. On March 6, Count Thurn delivered a lengthy statement to the Assembly, in which he enumerated the grievances of the Protestants, specially alluding to the events at Hrob and Broumov. After a debate that continued for several days, it was decided to address a remonstrance to the Government officials at Prague; should this remonstrance prove ineffective, the Protestants resolved to bring their grievances directly before Matthew, who then resided at Vienna. The State officials gave an immediate answer: they declined to afford any redress whatever. The Assembly now voted an address to the king, reiterating their grievances, and then broke up; but not before they had agreed to meet again on May 21, by which date it was considered that an answer would be received from Vienna.

The king's answer arrived sooner than was expected. His message, drawn up according to the advice of his favourite, Cardinal Khlesl, was of a most uncompromising character. Matthew, without entering into the discussion of the alleged grievances, declared that he would not permit a new meeting of the Protestants. He further stated that his forbearance was at an end, and threatened with legal proceedings those who had caused disturbances. This, not unnaturally, was considered as a menace to all who had taken part in the proceedings of the Protestant Assembly. It is needless to state that this answer, which was handed to the "Defenders" by Matthew's representatives at Prague, caused general excitement among the Protestants. The burgrave and the

other officials who governed in Matthew's name, when transmitting the royal message to the "Defenders," summoned them to obey the wishes of their king, and to countermand the intended Assembly. The "Defenders" demanded a delay of three days before returning an answer. They then replied that the new meeting was to take place in conformity with the decision of the Protestants during their former Assembly. They stated that they had no power to annul that decision. When this answer reached Vienna, the sovereign sent a second message to the Bohemian Estates, couched in more moderate language. He, however, adhered to his prohibition of the intended meeting. The "Defenders" forwarded a second answer, identical in its terms with their former statement.

The Protestants had already begun to reassemble at Prague. They were even more numerous than at the previous meeting, and most of the towns had this time sent representatives. The leaders of the movement met on May 18, a few days before the date fixed for the general Assembly, at the Carolinum, which now became the centre of the national movement. It was decided that an appeal should be addressed to the Bohemian people, and publicity given to it by means of the (Protestant) clergy of Prague. As proposed, this proclamation was read out in all the Protestant parish churches of Prague on the following Sunday. It stated that the "Defenders" had received positive intelligence that certain persons in the kingdom intended to destroy peace and unity, to oppress the Christian religion by various artifices, to close and destroy the churches, and abolish religious liberty. They (the "Defenders") had informed the sovereign of this, but had been wrongly accused by their adversaries of hostile intentions with regard to his Majesty; and they solemnly protested against this calumnious assertion. The faithful were finally exhorted to pray to God that He might dispose the sovereign's mind favourably towards the Bohemians, and to the confusion of their own and the king's enemies. This appeal, while sparing the king himself, was a direct attack on his councillors, and particularly on the Burgrave of the Karlstein, Jaroslav of Martinic, and the chief judge, William of Slavata. These two officials, both staunch adherents of the Roman Church, were special objects of suspicion, as having influenced the king unfavourably towards their countrymen.

The Protestant Assembly met again at the Carolinum on May 21, as had been settled. As soon as the proceedings had commenced, Government messengers appeared requesting the attendance of the Protestants at the castle. When they arrived at the Hradčany another royal message, forbidding their meetings, was read to them. They none the less again met on the following day to discuss the answer. The answer had already been drawn up by the "Defenders," and it was decided to present it on the following day. Thurn declared that it would be advisable not to choose a deputation for this purpose, and suggested that the whole Assembly should proceed in full armour to the Hradčany, and he alleged without hesitation that a small deputation would not be safe in the castle. The isolated position of the Hradčany rendered it possible that once inside of its extensive buildings a few individuals would be entirely at the mercy of the well-armed royal body-guards, who could, by closing the gates of the castle, prevent all attempts to bring aid to the delegates if they were assailed. Thurn's proposal was accepted, and the Government officials gave permission that the nobles should appear in the palace in full armour.

It is more than probable that the momentous event of the morrow, known as the Defenestration, was planned on this day (May 22) by Thurn and his adherents. Thurn had undoubtedly arrived at the conclusion that the moment was a favourable one for the Bohemians to begin the inevitable struggle. The much-discussed question whether he was influenced by personal ambition or zeal for the Protestant religion, or—as is most probable—by both motives combined, is of comparatively slight importance. The indignation of the Bohemians had reached the highest pitch, and the increasing influence of the Jesuits had as yet succeeded in bringing about but few defections from the ranks of the Protestant nobility. Thurn may also have thought it preferable to encounter the weak government of Matthew rather than the energy of a religious enthusiast like Ferdinand; for it was certain that that prince would soon succeed to the Bohemian throne. An open act of violence against the officials would also, by compromising the whole Protestant nobility, force the waverers to take part in a general uprising.

Thurn and some of his more immediate adherents—

among whom were two nobles of the Kinský and two of the Říčan family, Colonna of Fels and Venceslas of Ruppa—met on that day at the Smiřicky palace. After some discussion, in the course of which Ulrich of Kinský proposed that the officials should be poniarded in the council-room, it was decided that the two most hated of the royal councillors, Martinic and Slavata, should be thrown from the windows of the Hradčany.[1] It may be noted that it was an old Bohemian usage to punish traitors by this form of death.

Early on the morning of the memorable 23rd of May, the representatives of Protestantism in Bohemia proceeded to the Hradčin; all were in full armour, and most of them were followed by one or more retainers. They first proceeded to the hall where the Estates habitually met. The address to the king which the "Defenders" had prepared was here read out. It protested both against the attempt to prevent the meeting, and against the threat of legal proceedings. The address ended with the significant question, what part the king's councillors at Prague had had in the composition of the menacing message which had been forwarded from Vienna. The Protestants now proceeded to the hall in which the king's councillors were awaiting them. Of these, only the high burgrave, Adam of Sternberg, Martinic, Slavata, and Diepold of Lobkowitz were present. Paul of Říčan read out the address to the king, and a very stormy discussion took place. The officials, especially Martinic and Slavata, were violently accused of having, through their evil counsels, instigated King Matthew against their own countrymen. The fact that these two officials alone of all the Bohemian nobles had refused to sign the Letter of Majesty was recalled as a proof of their treachery. At last Paul of Říčan, again acting as spokesman, read out a declaration which he had previously prepared. It stated that Martinic and Slavata were to be considered as violators of the Letter of Majesty and enemies to the Commonwealth. The Protestants, questioned by Říčan, loudly assented to his declaration. This sealed the fate of the two councillors. The burgrave's entreaties to spare them

[1] It is curious to note that Wallenstein is alleged to have said that the greatest folly the Bohemians had committed had been to throw Martinic and Slavata out of a window instead of thrusting a sword through their bodies.

were fruitless. He was himself forced to leave the room. Diepold of Lobkowitz, who attempted to assist Martinic and Slavata, was also induced to retire by his cousin William of Lobkowitz, one of the Protestant leaders. Slavata was now seized by Thurn and Martinic by William of Lobkowitz. Aided by other nobles, Thurn and Lobkowitz gradually forced the two councillors nearer to the wall, and after a short struggle threw them from two adjoining windows into the moat below. Fabricius, the secretary of the Royal Council, who was unknown to the nobles, having attempted to remonstrate with them, was also thrown from the windows of the castle. To those who know the scene of this drama (little changed at the present day), it seems well-nigh marvellous that they should all three have escaped almost without injury.[1] When the nobles who were watching them from the windows above noticed that they moved, numerous shots were fired at them, but with little result; Martinic only was slightly wounded. Aided by their servants, Martinic and Slavata succeeded in making their escape, and eventually in leaving Prague in safety.

Immediately after the Defenestration—an event memorable not only in Bohemia but in European history, for it marks the beginning of the Thirty Years' War—the Bohemians established what may be called a provisional Government consisting of thirty "Directors," chosen (as the "Defenders" had been) in equal proportions by the three Estates. Venceslas of Ruppa, one of the ablest of the Bohemian nobles, became president of this body. Thurn contented himself with the command of the army. His foreign origin and particularly his insufficient knowledge of the national language—which has already been noted—undoubtedly rendered it impossible for him to attempt to obtain a more prominent position. No movement unconnected with their national aspirations has ever carried away the whole mass of the Bohemian people. It was only by a general uprising that the new Government could hope to resist the inevitable attack of its enemies.

The new Government from the first displayed considerable diplomatic activity. Despatches, expressed in nearly

[1] The pious Romanists afterwards attributed their escape to a miracle. The height of the windows from the ground is about forty feet.

identical terms, were sent to the princes of Germany, the Kings of England and France, the Republic of Venice, the Duke of Savoy, and others. These despatches all affirmed the complete loyalty of the Bohemians to the "Emperor Matthew their king," and a detailed account was given of the provocations the Protestants had endured. It was strongly represented that the violation of the Letter of Majesty and of the contemporaneous Agreement signed in 1609 had forced the Protestants to rise up in arms. The entire responsibility for the troubles was thrown on the order of the Jesuits, who were accused of having stirred up domestic strife in Bohemia.

It is a proof of the strong feeling against the Jesuits then prevalent in Bohemia, that one of the first acts of the new Government was a decree ordering their expulsion (June 1, 1618). The enumeration of the reasons for this decree bears a singular resemblance to the accusations which were brought forward against that Order at the time of its suppression by Clement XIV in the eighteenth century. The Jesuits were accused of "desiring to subdue all the kingdoms and lands of the world to their yoke and power; of having even employed artifices to incite the potentates of the world one against the other; and especially of having, in countries where various religions existed, stirred up strife among the Estates." It was further said that "the Jesuits instigated the authorities against the subjects and the subjects against the authorities; that they had empowered 'parricides' to murder kings and the anointed of the Lord who refused to act contrary to their God and in accordance with their (the Jesuits') counsels; that they had promised these criminals eternal salvation and freedom from the pains of purgatory; that they had by means of confession obtained knowledge of many family secrets; also they had, 'exemplo templariorum,' become owners of vast estates; and finally, that they had openly preached that no faith need be kept with heretics."[1] At the same moment the Romanist Archbishop of Prague and the Abbot of Břenov were also ordered to quit Bohemia. The Jesuits, shortly after their expulsion, published a written defence. They stated that it was impossible that different religions should be tolerated in the same country; that they could not spread the Catholic faith without

[1] I quote from a MS. copy preserved in the State Archives at Venice.

incurring the hatred of their opponents, and that it was their endeavour, for the greater honour of God, to reduce all Christianity and the whole world to the obedience of the Pope.

While this literary contest was being waged, the "Directors" began to equip an army to meet the coming attack. They succeeded in raising a force of 16,000 men but the want of an efficient commander was much felt already. The new Government was, on the whole, very favourably received by the country, which was then almost entirely Protestant. The towns of Budějovice and Plzeň alone maintained their allegiance to King Matthew.

The news of the Defenestration reached Matthew at Vienna while King Ferdinand was temporarily absent at Presburg, where he was anxious to secure his coronation as King of Hungary. Matthew, now entirely under the influence of Cardinal Khlesl, at first inclined to a peaceful policy. He had, during his struggle against his brother been on terms of intimacy with Žerotin, the leader of the Moravian nobility, and a member of the Church of the Bohemian Brethren. It was not impossible that that noble a staunch adherent of the house of Habsburg, might offer his services as mediator, particularly as Moravia had not yet declared for the new Government at Prague. Ferdinand, however, had from the first seen that war alone could finally decide the long contest between the king and the Estates of Bohemia. He also saw that if Bohemia were conquered by force of arms, the pledges of religious liberty reluctantly given at the moment of his coronation would become void. With the approval of the Emperor Matthew brother, the Archduke Maximilian, Ferdinand caused Cardinal Khlesl to be forcibly removed from the Imperial court at Vienna, and the war-party was now in the ascendant. The Emperor entrusted the entire management of the Bohemian war to his cousin. As generals, Ferdinand chose Bouquoi and Dampierre, who by long service with the Spanish armies in the Netherlands had acquired a thorough knowledge of war.

Towards the end of July (1618) the Imperial forces—about 12,000 men—coming from Moravia and Austria crossed the Bohemian frontier at several points. The leaders, Bouquoi and Dampierre, effected a junction at Německý Brod on September 9. The first news of the

entry of the Austrian troops into the country caused a panic at Prague. The military reputation of the Imperial generals was well known in the country, while the Bohemian commanders—with the possible exception of Thurn—were little trusted by their soldiers. The slow advance of the Imperialists, however, partially restored confidence in Bohemia, where the Government now called the whole able-bodied population to arms.

The Bohemians were not without aid from abroad. Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, while at war with Spain, had employed a force of German mercenaries under the command of Ernest of Mansfeld, a natural son of Prince Mansfeld. These troops were returning to Germany after the conclusion of peace with Spain, when the Duke of Savoy received letters from the Bohemian provisional Government, announcing the revolution that had taken place and requesting aid. The duke (who already entertained that feeling of hostility to the Habsburg dynasty which was till recently characteristic of the policy of the house of Savoy) immediately realized the importance of the events at Prague. He decided to use them for the purpose of achieving the downfall of the Austrian power. He despatched a message to Mansfeld, who was then marching his troops through Switzerland, to say that he would retain half of Mansfeld's mercenaries in his pay, on condition of their immediately proceeding to Bohemia, to aid the new Government. Duke Charles Emanuel had already formed the plan—to which further reference will be made—of obtaining the crown of Bohemia: but he still wished his scheme to remain secret. It was therefore agreed between him and Mansfeld that Christian of Anhalt, the most determined of the German enemies of the house of Habsburg, the Elector Palatine Frederick, then leader of the German Protestants, and the Margrave of Anspach should alone be informed of the Duke's designs.

Mansfeld's troops arrived in Bohemia in September (1618), and immediately proceeded to besiege Plzeň, one of the few Bohemian towns that had remained faithful to King Matthew. Thurn had meanwhile assumed supreme command of the Bohemian forces. After a futile attempt on the part of Žerotin, the leader of the Moravian Protestants, to mediate between the contending parties, the Bohemians assumed the offensive; they had also been strengthened by

the levies from Silesia and Lusatia, both which countries now recognized the new Government at Prague.

Bouquoi, the leader of the Imperial troops, did not consider his army sufficiently strong to resist the now more numerous forces of Thurn. He therefore retreated southward. His retiring forces were defeated by the Bohemians at Pelhřimov and more decisively at Lomnice, three (German) miles from Budějovice. Bouquoi was obliged to seek refuge within that, then fortified, city. Leaving only a small force to oppose Bouquoi, the Bohemians crossed the Austrian frontier (November 25, 1618), hoping to find allies among the Protestant nobles, then in a large majority in the land. The lateness of the season and the state of the roads rendered this expedition a failure, and the Bohemians took up their winter quarters in their own country. Before the then customary temporary cessation of hostilities Mansfeld had succeeded in obtaining possession of the town of Plzeň on November 21, after a siege of two months.

The Bohemians had, on the whole, been successful during the campaign of the year 1618, but that success was not in the end advantageous to their cause. Thinking that victory had already been secured, many soldiers returned to their homes. This was to a large extent the result of the faulty military organization. The soldiers received their pay and their rations from the towns and nobles who had enrolled them. These, therefore, from motives of economy sanctioned the return of their soldiers as soon as immediate danger appeared no longer to threaten the land. "From the beginning of the war financial difficulties arose which constantly increased, and caused almost more harm to the (Bohemian) movement than did the enemy."[1]

Before hostilities recommenced, the political situation changed completely through the death of the Emperor Matthew (March 20, 1619). The necessary consequence was the choice of a new Emperor, and the fate of Bohemia largely depended on the result of that election.

The Bohemian throne also became practically vacant; for though Ferdinand's right to succeed his cousin had been recognized, yet his openly avowed hostility to Protestantism could hardly fail to alienate the Bohemian people, in spite of the validity of his claim to the throne. Matthew's death was not unexpected, and negotiations as to the succession

[1] Gindely.

had taken place during the previous winter. The young Elector Palatine Frederick was at that moment the leader of the German Protestants, a term which was then practically synonymous with hostility to the house of Habsburg. His father, who had died when he was only fourteen years of age, had already—under the influence of the talented Christian of Anhalt—rendered himself conspicuous as a supporter of the Bohemian Protestants during the troubles which preceded the granting of the Letter of Majesty. Ever since Frederick's marriage with Elizabeth, the daughter of King James I of England, his councillors had suggested to him that a young prince of so great influence, the son-in-law of a powerful king, should endeavour to obtain the crown of one of the elective kingdoms. Bohemia and Poland were alluded to, but the former country only was from the first seriously taken into consideration.[1] In 1615 Frederick visited the Upper Palatinate, of which district Christian of Anhalt was then governor as representative of Frederick. During their interviews the old enemy of the house of Habsburg undoubtedly urged his master to persevere in those ambitious schemes, which were also supported by the Electress Elizabeth. As early as July 1618, we read that Count Albert Solms visited Bohemia on a mission entrusted to him by the Elector Palatine; he then had already promised help to the Bohemians, and perhaps suggested the eventuality of Frederick's election as king.

The Elector seems at all events at first to have realized the necessity of securing allies before he encountered the enmity of the powerful house of Habsburg. Shortly after the death of King Matthew, Frederick despatched Christian of Anhalt to the court of Turin, where Duke Charles Emanuel had already shown himself favourable to the Bohemian cause. That prince, however, did not appear as much inclined to join a confederacy against Austria as Anhalt had expected. Being himself desirous of obtaining the Bohemian crown, it was not his interest to encourage the ambition of Frederick. Anhalt was at last obliged to offer the Bohemian crown to the Duke of Savoy, suggesting that his master should content himself with the districts in the neighbourhood of the Rhine which belonged to the house

[1] Dr. Söltl, *Elizabeth Stuart: Gemahlin Friedrich V von der Pfalz.* Dr. Söltl quotes from a contemporary manuscript.

of Habsburg;[1] since these lands, situated nearer to th Palatinate than Bohemia, would be even more valuable t the Elector. The duke, however, still received Anhalt' proposals coldly. He made his support of the Germa Protestants conditional on the approval of the Elector father-in-law, King James of England. That sovereign ha little real sympathy with the Protestant cause. The Englis ambassadors on the Continent, however, appear to hav been carried away by their own Protestant zeal, and to hav adopted an attitude more favourable to the Protestants Germany than their instructions warranted.[2] It is certai that Anhalt succeeded in persuading the Duke of Savoy, a least for a time, that King James approved of the ambitiou plans of his son-in-law. Hopes were also entertained tha the Republic of Venice, which had recently been at wa with the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, and which was o terms of friendship with the Elector Palatine,[3] would joi the enemies of the house of Habsburg.

Anhalt at last succeeded in bringing the Duke of Savo to his views, and a treaty of alliance was signed at Rivo (May 1619). The Duke of Savoy pledged himself t prevent the passage of Spanish troops through his territor on their way to Germany and Bohemia, and promised monthly subsidy of 10,000 ducats to the confederacy of th Protestant German princes, known as the "Union," which Frederick was leader. The Elector Palatine, on th other hand, promised to send an army of 10,000 men to th aid of the Bohemian Protestants, and to use all his influenc in favour of the election of the Duke of Savoy to th Bohemian throne. Anhalt left Italy immediately after th signature of this treaty; but both parties seem almost fro the first to have regretted it, and it remained entirely i operative. The Elector Palatine deplored the sacrifice his hopes on the Bohemian crown, and continued secret to intrigue in favour of his own candidature. The Duke Savoy, when he saw that England would not join the allianc against the house of Habsburg, began to fear the enmity

[1] This referred to the Breisgau and some adjoining districts—no forming parts of Baden and Würtemburg.

[2] See Gindely, *Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*.

[3] The Venetian archives contain numerous letters addressed Frederick of the Palatinate to the Doges Antonio Priuli and Frances Contarini (1618–1624), requesting financial aid.

Austria, though he did not immediately renounce his pretensions to the Bohemian throne. A large party, especially among the German Protestants of Bohemia, wished to choose as king, John George, Elector of Saxony; there were, therefore, no less than three candidates to the throne besides Ferdinand, who (in contradistinction to his rivals) founded his claim on his previous election and coronation during the reign of King Matthew.

Ferdinand's attitude from the first proves that he was thoroughly aware of the impossibility of gaining the Bohemian crown otherwise than by force of arms. He declared, indeed, that he would keep the promises he had made at his coronation, but he confirmed in their offices the councillors formerly appointed by Matthew, whom the Estates had driven from Prague after the occurrence of the Defenestration. He thus impliedly branded the "Directors" as usurpers. The continuation of the war was therefore inevitable. Hostilities were resumed in the spring (1619), as soon as the state of the weather permitted of it. Count Thurn, at the head of a Bohemian army, entered Moravia, where not only the Catholics, but also a considerable party among the Protestants, were opposed to the new Government at Prague. This party, headed by Žerotin, attributed the revolutionary movement in Bohemia to the personal ambition of its leaders, and not to their zeal for the Protestant creed. But on the whole public opinion in Moravia was not unfavourable to the provisional Government. Both at Jihlava, the frontier town, and at Znoymo, Thurn's troops were enthusiastically received, and the greater part of the nobility declared itself in his favour. The Estates of Moravia at their meetings at Brno in May 1619 decided that the country should, similarly to Bohemia, be governed provisionally by a body of thirty "Directors"; of these twelve were to be chosen by the nobles, twelve by the knights, and six by the representatives of the towns. The all-important question of the choice of a new sovereign was deferred to a "General Diet" of the lands of the Bohemian crown, which it was settled should shortly meet at Prague.

The easy success of Thurn's expedition to Moravia induced the "Directors" at Prague to instruct him to advance into Austria. This is perhaps the one moment when a successful result of the Bohemian national movement was not impossible. The strong Romanist tendencies

of Ferdinand, already known through his "Catholic Reform tion" of Styria, had from the first alienated the nobles Upper and Lower Austria against their new sovereign. Vienna, where Ferdinand took up his residence after th death of his cousin Matthew, the presence of the sovereign and of an armed force, restricted the revolutionary mov ment within limits. At Linz, however, the capital of Upp Austria, the Estates openly opposed the new ruler, unde the leadership of the Baron of Starhemberg and of Tsche nembl, the latter of whom appears to have been a man exceptional ability. They entered into an alliance with th Bohemians, and Starhemberg entreated Thurn to marc into Austria, where he said "he would be received as Messiah." Thurn entered Lower Austria in May, and th news of his approach caused a panic among the Catholic of Vienna, while it greatly raised the hopes of the Pr testants, who were in sympathy with the Bohemians. O June 5, the leaders of the Austrian Protestants were receive in audience by Ferdinand. They demanded the assuranc of full religious liberty, a considerable increase of the pow of the Estates, and the sovereign's sanction to the allianc with the Estates of Bohemia which they had already co cluded. The interview was at first a very stormy one. is said that at the moment when the Protestants had becom most menacing towards Ferdinand, they were reduced t subserviency by the sudden appearance of Dampierre regiment in the court of the palace (the "Burg"). Th arrival of this small reinforcement marks a turning-point i the fortunes of the campaign. It intimidated the Protestan of Vienna, who, as the State trials afterwards revealed, ha intended to open the gates to Thurn's army. When th general appeared before Vienna the following night (June 6 contrary to his expectation he found the gates closed, an the fortifications held by troops, while no insurrectiona movement in the town took place. Ill provided wi artillery, Thurn felt unable to undertake a regular siege, an he only remained in the neighbourhood of the city up June 15. His return to Bohemia was precipitated by th news that Mansfeld's army had been signally defeated b the Imperialists under Bouquoi, at the village of Zabl in Southern Bohemia. Even after Thurn's return, Bouqu continued his victorious advance, and was already menacin Prague. A mutiny which broke out among the Bohemia

mercenary troops at this moment favoured his movements. It is not improbable that Bohemia would have been subdued during this campaign had it not in September 1619 been considered necessary to recall Bouquoi. Gabriel Bethlen, prince of Transylvania, had conquered a large part of Hungary, and thus became a rival of Ferdinand, who claimed the crown of Hungary, a policy pursued by all the Habsburg princes at this period. He made a sudden attack on Austria, and arrived close to Vienna, to the defence of which city Bouquoi and his troops marched with all speed.

The weighty question as to the succession to the Bohemian throne had meanwhile been decided by the "General Diet," which first met at Prague on July 8. This Diet from the first assumed the functions of a constituent assembly. It commenced its proceedings by declaring that Bohemia was an elective, not an hereditary kingdom. Curiously enough, a few opinions were expressed in favour of the republican form of government. It was then resolved (probably in view of obtaining the support of the dependent countries) that in the election of a king, Bohemia should have two votes, Moravia, Silesia, Upper Lusatia, and Lower Lusatia one vote each. Other constitutional enactments, subsequently voted, defined and enlarged the powers of the Estates, and limited those of the future elective king. "Defenders" were to be chosen in each of the lands of the Bohemian crown, who were empowered to exercise a supreme control over the king, and even to organize armed resistance against him, should he violate the new constitution. This constitution, which conferred enormous power on the nobles, and placed beside, rather than above them, a king whose influence was strictly limited, was not unlike that of Poland during the last period of its existence as an independent country. The new constitution was solemnly promulgated at Prague on July 31, 1619, but in consequence of the complete collapse of the Bohemian movement in the following year it may be said never to have come into operation. After having decided the constitutional question, the Estates concluded an alliance with the Austrian Protestants, by which they mutually promised aid in the defence of the privileges of the Estates and of the Protestant faith. The next measure that occupied the Bohemian Diet was the deposition of Ferdinand. As the Estates had established a constitution, the provisions of which it was certain that the

prince would not accept, this was little more than a formal ity. The principal accusations against Ferdinand which were brought forward as justifying his deposition were, that he had obtained the crown through fraud on the part of King Matthew, and that he had ill-treated the Protestants in Styria. It was also said that, should he be accepted as king, Bohemia would herself become responsible for the enormous debts which had been incurred in raising the military forces to subdue the country.[1] On August 13, the nobles, knights, and town representatives of Bohemia de clared themselves for the deposition of Ferdinand, and the deputies of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia on the following day concurred in that decision.

The next step was the election of a new king. The "Directors" wished to carry it out as soon as possible, as it was known that the election of a new Emperor was shortly to take place at Frankfurt. It was almost certain that there the choice would fall on Ferdinand; and the "Directors" feared that the result of the election at Frankfurt would raise the hopes of the Catholics, and intimidate those who were ready to support the candidate whom the "Directors" favoured. That that candidate would be the Elector Palatine was by this time almost certain. The Duke of Savoy had abandoned his intention of interfering in the affairs of Bohemia and Germany. It was now evident to him that King James of England did not intend to aid the Bohemian Protestants; and France, the powerful neighbour of Savoy contrary to her traditions, was for the moment on terms of friendship with the house of Habsburg. The candidature of the Elector of Saxony would have found many supporters had that prince desired to obtain the Bohemian throne. As far back as the year 1614 several disaffected Bohemian nobles had offered the crown of their country to the Elector after the defeat at Zablati they applied to him for aid again proposing to elect him as king. But the Elector entirely discouraged their advances, and refused to abet the

[1] The Estates afterwards published their reasons for dethroning Ferdinand in a thick volume (consisting of 394 pages, and an Appendix of 226 pages containing documentary evidence). In this book—entitled *Deductio deren Ursachen warum . . . Kaiser Ferdinand des Regiments in Böhmen . . . verlustigt*—the question is treated with appalling thoroughness. Procopius's history, *De Bello Gothico*, is made to bear witness against Ferdinand, and we begin the history of Bohemia with Krokus and Libussa!

Bohemians in any way. A rigid Lutheran, the Calvinism of the majority of the Bohemian Protestants found little favour in his eyes. Hoe, the Elector's court chaplain, used his great influence over that prince to the detriment of the Bohemians. While preaching the Lutheran creed at Prague, Hoe had been exposed to personal insults on the part of the Bohemian Calvinists, who finally expelled him from the country. He had retained a violent hatred for the Bohemians, and Ferdinand's minister at Dresden therefore found no difficulty, by means of presents, in winning him entirely to his master's cause. A just appreciation of the political situation of Europe, at that moment very favourable to the dynasty of Habsburg, may also have influenced the Elector in his decision to refuse all aid to the Bohemians. By offending the powerful house of Austria he imperilled the electoral dignity which Charles V had transferred to his branch of the Saxon dynasty.

The date fixed for the election of the new king was August 26, and an attempt of the Saxon party to protract the proceedings was frustrated by the efforts of Ruppa, the president of the "Directors." The election began immediately, the nobles—thirty-eight in number—first recording their votes. Justifying his vote in favour of the Elector Palatine, Ruppa, in an eloquent speech, dilated on the powerful alliances Frederick would secure to Bohemia. As such future allies he mentioned England, the Netherlands, the "Union" of the German Protestant princes, Switzerland, and Savoy. He also referred to the great wealth of Frederick, saying that it would enable him to give liberal aid to the Bohemians. Ruppa's speech appears to have made a great impression, for thirty-four nobles recorded their votes for the Elector Palatine. The further voting was even more favourable to that prince. Only three knights gave their votes to the Elector of Saxony, and the representatives of the towns unanimously declared for the Elector Palatine. On the following day the representatives of the dependent lands also approved the choice of Frederick as king. The result of the election was immediately made public, contrary, however, to the wishes of Frederick's envoys, who had suggested that the election should be kept secret till their master had given his decision.

Weak and irresolute as he proved himself during his whole career, Frederick, though pleased at having obtained the

long-coveted crown, yet hesitated when the Bohemian ambassadors arrived at Amberg to give him formal notice of his election. He asked the advice of his councillors, Christian of Anhalt, Camerarius, the court chaplain Schulze, and he also consulted several princes of the Protestant Union. Frederick, following the advice of the majority of those he consulted, at first decided to return an evasive answer, saying he would only accept the crown when assured of sufficient aid from his father-in-law, the King of England. It is now well known that the sympathies of James I were at that moment entirely with Ferdinand, whom he considered the legitimate King of Bohemia. If James—and to a far greater extent some of his ministers—at times seemed to favour Frederick's plans, this was only done because the Protestant opinion of England warmly espoused the cause of the Elector Palatine.

Had Frederick adhered to his first resolution, there is no doubt that his expedition to Bohemia—equally disastrous to himself and to the country which he attempted to rule—would never have taken place. The fact that on the day following the election of Frederick, Archduke Ferdinand was unanimously chosen as Emperor by the German electors (August 28, 1619) should have been a further inducement to cautious action.

Frederick, however, soon abandoned his first decision. Christian of Anhalt represented to him that having done so much to obtain the Bohemian throne, he would incur lasting disgrace should he now refuse it. The Elector's ambitious consort, Elizabeth, is said to have exercised her great influence towards the same end.[1] Frederick finally decided to accept the crown of Bohemia without waiting for the approval of the King of England. He wrote to inform

[1] This is principally stated by Catholic authors of this period, who surnamed Elizabeth the Helen of Germany, thus indicating that she was the cause of all the calamities which the Thirty Years' War brought on Germany. In a letter which Elizabeth at this time addressed to her husband, who had sought her advice, she said: "As God directs everything, He had undoubtedly also ordained this" (*i. e.* the election). "She therefore left it to her husband to decide whether he would accept the crown. Should he do so, she was ready to obey the call of God, to suffer what God might decree, and even if necessary to sacrifice her jewels and all her worldly possessions." This letter can hardly be considered as pleading strongly in favour of Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian crown.

his father-in-law of his decision, and by the beginning of October it was also known at Prague that Frederick had accepted the crown. Immediately after this decision Frederick left Amberg to join the Electress at Heidelberg. Thence they both started for Bohemià, and reached the frontier of that country at Waldsassen (near Cheb) on October 25. The king and queen, as they were henceforth called, were here received by a deputation composed of representatives of all the lands of the Bohemian crown. Count Andrew Šlik first welcomed the king, and the deputation was afterwards received by the queen. Venceslas of Ruppa, speaking in French, thanked her for having shown herself friendly to the Bohemian cause, and for having encouraged her husband to accept the crown. Speaking in the same language, Elizabeth replied: "What I have done for the glory of God and for the religion in the past has been done with good intention on my part, and in the future also I shall not be wanting in affection and good-will to you." These words are by most writers considered as an admission on the part of the queen that she had persuaded her husband to accept the Bohemian crown.

On October 25 the king and queen continued their journey, and were enthusiastically received by the nobility and the people of all the towns through which they passed.

They arrived before Prague on October 31, and were met at the gates of the city by large deputations of nobles and citizens. Their solemn entry into Prague took place on the same day. On November 4 the king, and three days later the queen, were crowned in the cathedral of St. Vitus on the Hradčany, Dicastus (the Administrator of the Protestant Consistory) officiating on both occasions. The enthusiasm, both of the nobles and of the citizens, knew no bounds. The winning manners of the king in particular obtained him great popularity, while his incapacity and irresolution had not yet been discovered. The fact that Frederick was ignorant of the Bohemian language—which he does not seem even to have attempted to acquire—very soon interfered with his popularity, and the Bohemians began to speak of their new king as a foreigner. This designation was still more freely applied to Queen Elizabeth, who not only was ignorant of the Bohemian tongue, but whose knowledge of German was also exceedingly limited. A Chinese wall, as Dr. Gindely expresses it,

separated her from the Bohemian ladies, few of whom spoke French, and none English. Her intercourse was therefore confined to her own maids of honour, most of whom were English; and it was believed that in her conversations with them she spoke of her new home in a manner that was far from appreciative. The queen thus gradually became unpopular. The habits of her English attendants—even the low dresses worn by the ladies of her court—excited the displeasure of the ladies of Prague.

The "Directors" resigned their office immediately after the coronation, and it was Frederick's duty now to appoint the State and court officials. It is a proof how limited the king's power was, that he was only allowed to choose among four nominees of the Estates in each case. The principal dignities were, as natural, conferred on the leaders of the movement—Budova, Ruppa, Schlick, and William of Lobkowitz. Thurn was reinstated in his office of Burgrave of the Karlstein, of which dignity King Matthew had deprived him. The arrival of King Frederick therefore but little changed the political position of the Bohemian nobles, who continued to hold the real power; though they hoped by the election of Frederick to obtain foreign aid. The Bohemians were opposed to all interference on the part of the German councillors who had accompanied Frederick. They specially resented the attempts of Camerarius—the most able and trusted of the king's councillors—to examine the state of the finances of the country, which had fallen into hopeless disorder. Camerarius rightly foresaw that this circumstance, and the consequent impossibility of paying the troops regularly, would greatly contribute to the downfall of the new king.

Frederick was from the first confronted by the difficulties caused by religious strife. He had indeed declared himself a friend of religious liberty, and had promised the Catholic States, for whose aid he still hoped, to refrain from all steps hostile to the Roman faith;[1] but the narrow-minded

[1] Announcing his coronation to Antonio Priuli, Doge of Venice, on the day of that event ("In arce nostra Pragensi Die iv. Novembris 1619"), the king says: "Pollicemur autem S.V. nos hac in parte privatum emolumentum nullum prorsus sed duntaxat afflictorum liberationem ab exterminio et clade publica et libertatis communis patrocinium ante oculos habere ideoque Religioni Romanae additos non minus quam Evangelicae professionis premissam illis liberam ubique suae religionis exercitionem tueri velle" (State Archives, Venice).

sectarian feeling, common at that period to all religious creeds, rendered a policy of tolerance an impossibility. On the advice of Schulze, his court chaplain, Frederick soon after his coronation caused all the altars and pictures to be removed from the church of St. Vitus at Prague, the time-honoured sanctuary of the Bohemian nation. This caused a general outcry in the whole country. The Bohemian Brethren, whom Frederick favoured, and whose doctrine was very similar to that of the Calvinists, were alone in their approbation of this measure. The Catholic and Lutheran clergy vied in their denunciations of the sacrilegious king. Hoe, the Lutheran court chaplain of the Elector of Saxony, was particularly active in inciting public opinion in Germany, as well as in Bohemia, against Frederick.

Warfare had meanwhile continued during the months that immediately preceded and followed the coronation of Frederick. As stated before, the army of Bouquoi had retreated from Bohemia in September (1619). During Count Thurn's presence in the neighbourhood of Vienna in June a Hungarian embassy had appeared in his camp, and the foundation was then laid of an alliance between the Bohemian and the Hungarian Protestants, the leader of these latter being then Gabriel Bethlen, prince of Transylvania. Following the retreating forces of Bouquoi, Thurn's army again entered Austria and joined the forces of Bethlen. An indecisive engagement took place at Ulrichskirchen in Lower Austria, after which Bouquoi retreated across the Danube, burning the bridges behind him. A formal alliance had meanwhile been concluded at Presburg between Bohemia, Hungary, and Transylvania, and it was decided that a joint embassy from the three countries should repair to Constantinople, to request the Sultan's aid against the Emperor Ferdinand. It was at the same time decided that, late as the season was, an attempt on Vienna should still be made. Want of heavy artillery, the mutinous state of the troops, whose pay was heavily in arrear, and the severity of the weather would probably have prevented the success of the enterprise; but early in December Bethlen, whose army, together with that of Thurn, had arrived before Vienna a few days previously, received news that the Hungarian Catholics, aided by Polish troops, had risen in arms against him; he therefore (December 5) hastily left the neighbourhood of Vienna and returned to Hungary.

Winter, as usual at that period, now put a temporary stop to hostilities, and the short respite was employed by both parties in attempting to secure allies for the struggle of the following year, which all felt would be decisive. It can be briefly stated that in these negotiations Ferdinand was entirely successful, while Frederick's attempt to obtain allies resulted in complete failure. The spring of the year 1620 found Bohemia almost isolated, while a large part of Europe was arrayed in arms against her.

First and foremost of the allies of Ferdinand was Philip III, King of Spain. As mentioned before, Spanish diplomacy[1] had intervened in the affairs of Bohemia in a sense hostile to the Protestants, during both the reigns of Rudolph and Matthew. Subsequently, a slight estrangement between the two branches of the house of Habsburg had taken place. Philip, on the death of the Emperor Matthew, believed his own right to Matthew's succession to be superior to that of Ferdinand.

Through the able diplomacy of Khevenhüller, Ferdinand's ambassador at Madrid, this difficulty was soon overcome. Khevenhüller strongly urged that the interest of the Roman Church, menaced by the temporary triumph of the Bohemian Protestants, preceded all other matters. When the king's confessor, who possessed great influence over him, raised some objection to Khevenhüller's demands for aid for his master, the ambassador answered him, "that his place in hell would be deeper than those of Calvin and Luther."[2] Before the beginning of the spring (1620) the ambassador's efforts were entirely successful. Spain engaged herself to send a large force to reinforce Bouquoi's army, and also to subsidize the new Emperor on a large scale. It was further settled that a Spanish army should invade the Palatinate from the Netherlands, thus preventing the new King of Bohemia from receiving any aid from his hereditary dominions.

[1] The intervention of Spain in Bohemian affairs may be traced some way back. Writing from Prague the Venetian ambassador, Vincenzo Gradenigo, states (Sept. 6, 1588): "Kuischky (Kinsky), held to be a leading heretic, said the other day that unless they kept their eyes open they would one day find themselves under Spanish yoke, but that the German princes had no intention of allowing such a thing to happen to them, and were on the lookout" (Calendar of State relating to English affairs, preserved in the Archives of Venice, vol. iii. p. 384. Edited by Mr. Horatio F. Brown).

[2] Gindely.

Among the Italian princes, the Pope naturally supported the cause of the Church of which he was the head. He had sent subsidies to Matthew from the beginning of the Bohemian revolution, but now that the decisive moment seemed near he increased his efforts. He imposed a tithe on all Church property in Italy, and was thus able to forward large sums, not only to Ferdinand, but also to the "Liga" of German Catholic princes whose troops, in 1620, invaded Bohemia. The Grand Duke of Tuscany sent some troops to the aid of the Emperor Ferdinand, and the Duke of Savoy, whose policy had completely changed, also offered to assist him with part of his army.

France did not interfere with armed forces, but the diplomacy of that power was for the moment decidedly favourable to the Emperor. The French envoys dissuaded the Protestant princes of Germany from affording any aid to the King of Bohemia, and the treaty of Ulm, which sealed his fate, was principally due to their efforts.

Turning to Northern Europe, Poland had already, by assisting the Hungarian Catholics in their attack on Bethlen, afforded aid to Ferdinand. During the winter (1619–1620) the Emperor obtained King Sigismund of Poland's permission to enlist a large force of Cossacks on Polish territory. These savage troops spread general terror among the people of Austria and Bohemia, to whom they were known as the "bloodhounds." They specially contributed to the suppression of the Protestant movement in Lower Austria. The King of Denmark, though a Protestant, disapproved of Frederick's expedition to Bohemia, and Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, who appears to have had more sympathy with the King of Bohemia, would by distance alone have been prevented from interfering before the speedy collapse of the Bohemian movement took place. He was also at that moment at war with Poland.

Far more important than the attitude of any of the Powers hitherto referred to, was that of the German princes and towns; for on that the result of the struggle between the competitors for the Bohemian crown principally depended. The German States were at that moment divided into two confederacies: the "Liga," to which most of the Catholics belonged, and the "Union," which—with the exception of Saxony—had been joined by the principal Protestant States. The heads of the two lines of the House of Wittelsbach,

Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, and Frederick, Elector Palatine, were at that time the chiefs of the rival confederacies. Though the Bohemians had chosen the leader of the Union as their king, the Protestant princes, and still more the Protestant free towns, from the first showed little sympathy for the Bohemian cause. The records of this period are mostly written from the point of view of religious controversy, and generally leave other motives in the background. It, however, appears probable that the hereditary hatred between Slavs and Germans contributed to preventing the German Protestants from co-operating with those of Bohemia. The princes of the Union strongly protested against Frederick's action in leading some of the troops of the Union to Bohemia. They even wished to deprive him of his position as head of their confederacy, alleging that he had by his acceptation of the Bohemian throne rendered himself unable to perform the duties attached to that office.

The ability of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, assisted by the efforts of the French envoys, was thus enabled to achieve a diplomatic success, which may be said to have sealed the fate of Frederick. The new Emperor had after his coronation visited Duke Maximilian at Munich (October 1619). It seems probable that at this moment already the Emperor promised Maximilian, in return for his assistance against Bohemia, that the dignity of Elector should, after the defeat of Frederick, be transferred from the Protestant to the Catholic line of the house of Wittelsbach. It was now only necessary for Duke Maximilian to acquire the certainty that his own dominions would not be attacked; he would then be able to use against Bohemia the whole strength of the Catholic "Liga." This result was only obtained after protracted negotiations, during which Maximilian received great assistance from the French ambassadors, who were instructed directly to menace the German Protestants. A treaty was at last signed at Ulm (July 3, 1620), by Duke Maximilian on behalf of the Catholic, and by the Elector of Brandenburg on behalf of the Protestant princes and free towns of Germany. By this agreement both parties pledged themselves not to attack the German lands belonging to the other party. Bohemia was not included in this treaty, and thus remained exposed to the attack of the "Liga." The very fair demand of the Protestants that the Archduke Albert governor of the Spanish Netherlands, should undertake no

to attack the hereditary domains of the Elector Palatine was rejected by Maximilian; he said that the Archduke was not a member of the "Liga," and that he had no right to give him orders. The Protestants did not insist, and shortly afterwards the Archduke Albert sent a Spanish army under Spinola to the Palatinate. The forces of Frederick were unable to resist this attack, so it hardly need be mentioned that the King of Bohemia had no hope of receiving aid from his hereditary territory.

Almost all the more important Catholic countries, therefore, for the moment supported the Emperor, either with their arms or at least by their diplomatic action. Ferdinand was also certain of the neutrality of the German Protestant princes,[1] and it was his good fortune even to obtain active aid from one of the most important of their number, the Elector of Saxony. It is not easy to account for the policy of the Elector. A zealous Lutheran, he was strongly opposed to the Calvinism of Frederick and the Bohemians; the intense dislike for that people which the influential court chaplain Hoe entertained must also be taken into account. The feeling that it was the duty of the Electors to aid their Emperor in retaining the Bohemian crown, now long connected with the Imperial dignity, together with jealousy of Frederick's increased power, may also have influenced the Elector. It is also probable that he entertained hopes of permanently acquiring Lusatia in return for his services. It is at any rate certain that from the beginning of the year 1620 the Elector of Saxony had cast in his lot with the Emperor, though it was only towards the end of the summer that a complete agreement as to a simultaneous attack on Bohemia from Austria, Bavaria, and Saxony was arrived at.

The prospects of the King of Bohemia were very different indeed from those of the Emperor. Little hope could from the first be placed on the Protestant princes of Germany, though the fatal treaty of Ulm was only signed in July. The only aid the Bohemians could seriously rely on was that of the Protestant nobles of Lower and Upper Austria, and that of Gabriel Bethlen, Prince of Transyl-

[1] They were not precluded from aiding Frederick in Bohemia by the treaty of Ulm, which had left that country entirely outside the sphere of its stipulations; it was, however, clear to Ferdinand that no such intervention would take place.

vania, who at that moment had obtained possession of a considerable part of Hungary. Bethlen had, in January (1620), concluded a truce with Ferdinand on terms very favourable to himself. The Emperor had temporarily sanctioned his occupation of the Hungarian districts which he had acquired. Bethlen's suggestion that Bohemia should be included in the truce was, however, rejected. The Prince of Transylvania, fortunately for the Bohemians, soon broke the truce, and as early as March (1620) renewed his alliance with them; a small Hungarian force, indeed, remained with the Bohemian armies up to the final downfall in November.

The Bohemians to the end hoped for aid from Turkey. They had, together with the Hungarians, sent an embassy to Constantinople in the autumn of 1619, and shortly afterwards Mehemed Aga was sent by the Sultan to Prague to congratulate King Frederick on his election, and to promise him aid from Turkey. The Sultan was, however, at this moment engaged in war in Asia; besides, he probably thought the struggle would be a prolonged one, and rightly judged that the weakening of the countries of Eastern and Central Europe could but favour his own plan of an advance westward. Towards the end of the summer (1620) another Bohemian embassy started for Constantinople, but only arrived there on November 27, nineteen days after the battle of the "White Mountain."

From the many allies whom the Bohemians believed they would gain through the election of Frederick little or no aid was obtained. Foremost among these imaginary allies was, of course, King James of England. Want of space renders it impossible to notice the very curious remarks which recent writers have made concerning the action of English diplomacy in Germany and Bohemia at this period. It appears certain that the envoys of King James, contrary to their instructions, and in consequence of their zeal for the Protestant cause, acted in a manner more favourable to King Frederick than their master desired. King James always declined to abet his son-in-law in his attempt to seize Bohemia, but he reluctantly consented to pay a subsidy to him for the defence of the Palatinate. An English envoy was sent to Brussels to dissuade Archduke Albert from invading the hereditary domains of the Elector Palatine. Up to the moment that the troops of Spinola

had entered the Palatinate the English Government was assured that no such intention existed. King James became the "laughing-stock and plaything of the Catholic powers."

The Netherlands—where Frederick afterwards took refuge—afforded as much aid to the king during his short reign as was in their power. Precluded by their geographical situation from any armed intervention, they to the last sent him subsidies, though, irritated by the cold, not to say hostile, attitude of King James, they occasionally threatened to withdraw their help should the King of England entirely abandon his son-in-law.

The Republic of Venice was also one of the States on whose aid the credulous Bohemians had relied. King Frederick and the Estates were incessant in their applications for financial help from the Republic. No such help ever seems to have been afforded, and the speedy termination of the war would in any case have rendered it fruitless.[1]

During the one winter in which he ruled Bohemia, Frederick was not entirely unsuccessful in securing the affection of his new subjects. A certain feeling of attachment to the new dynasty arose. When the queen (Dec. 26, 1619) gave birth to her third son, Prince Rupert, afterwards so prominent in English history, the people of Prague cordially joined in the festivities which took place at court on the occasion of this event. In February (1620) the new king visited Moravia and Silesia. Both at Brno and at Breslau he was enthusiastically received, so that it appeared as if all the lands of the Bohemian crown were united in their devotion to the new ruler.

By this time hostilities had already recommenced. On the retreat of the Hungarian forces from the neighbourhood of Vienna the Bohemians had also retired. The Bohemian troops remained in the part of Lower Austria nearest to the frontier of their country. The Moravians took up their winter quarters in the Moravian districts adjoining Austria, while the Silesians for a time separated from the rest of the

[1] One of these letters addressed to Doger Priuli, begging that he would aid the Bohemians, "ad usum belli hujus insigni aliqua pecuniae summa pro qua sufficientissimam cautionem Serenitati Vestrae ac inclytae isti Reipublicae praestare parati sumus," is dated from Prague as late as October 20, 1620. Frederick had then already left for the seat of war, and the letter is signed by the "Serenissimi Regis Bohemiae Consiliarii ac Supremi ejusdem Regni Officiales" (State Archives, Venice).

army. During the winter a small force, raised by the Austrian Protestants, joined the Bohemian army in Lower Austria. The first engagement between the Imperialists under Bouquoi and the Bohemians took place (in February) near Langenlois, in Lower Austria ; the troops of Ferdinand were entirely successful. Soon afterwards Prince Christian of Anhalt assumed the command of the Bohemian forces, and the jealousy between him and Thurn, the former commander, was one of the many causes that contributed to the speedy downfall of Bohemia. Hostilities of an indecisive character continued during spring and summer up to the moment when the treaty of Ulm and the Saxon declaration in favour of Ferdinand rendered a combined attack on Bohemia possible.

As soon as the treaty of Ulm had guaranteed to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria the security of his own dominions he lost no time in hurrying to the assistance of the Emperor Ferdinand. His army crossed the frontier of Upper Austria on July 24, and that country submitted almost without resistance. The Protestant Estates, not expecting so rapid an attack, had not sufficiently armed themselves and were disappointed in their hope of aid from Bohemia and Hungary. After the submission of Upper Austria, Maximilian was free to direct his entire attention to Bohemia, as the Protestant movement in Lower Austria had also already collapsed. The Protestant nobles had indeed raised some troops, and they now (August 1) proclaimed Frederick, King of Bohemia, their protector. They were, however, as ill-prepared for war as the Protestants of Upper Austria, and all resistance on their part was soon suppressed with the help of the Emperor's Polish mercenaries, whose ferocity and cruelty spread terror through Lower Austria.

After some deliberation it was settled that the army of the "Liga" should unite with that of Bouquoi, and that they then should conjointly invade Bohemia. Before crossing the frontier, Duke Maximilian addressed a letter to the Estates of Bohemia, informing them that he had received an Imperial "patent" authorizing him to invade Bohemia unless the Estates immediately recognized the authority of Ferdinand their legitimate sovereign. The Estates answered (August 30) by a letter, the contents of which would excite more admiration had they not been in such entire contradiction t

the attitude of the Bohemian people during the subsequent short campaign. Returning the Imperial "patent," the Estates declared that "they would—should an entirely unprovoked attack be made on them—defend their king, who had been elected and crowned in accordance with the old privileges and rights of Bohemia; and that they would fight to the utmost for the lands of the Bohemian crown, and for their beloved country, at the risk of their estates and their lives; they therefore confidently entrusted the decision to the justice of God." On the day he addressed his letter to the Estates, Maximilian also wrote to King Frederick, summoning him immediately to leave Bohemia. The king returned an answer similar to that of the Estates.[1] On September 8 the army of the "Liga" united with that of Bouquoi in Lower Austria, and the combined forces, crossing the Bohemian frontier (September 20), marched on Budějovice.

Bouquoi nominally retained his separate command, but he henceforth played a minor part, as the influence and importance of the Duke of Bavaria were far superior to his. A few days before (September 13) the troops of the Elector of Saxony had crossed the frontier of Lusatia, to reduce this dependency of Bohemia to Ferdinand's rule.

Never was Bohemia less prepared to resist the vast forces now on the march against her. It would indeed have required the enthusiasm of the Hussite times to render a successful defence possible. The Bohemians of this period were, however, very different from their heroic ancestors. There was nothing also in the person of the German king whom they had chosen to carry away the masses as Žižka and Prokop had done in the days of old. Frederick, though the charm of his manners secured for him a certain degree of popularity to which Queen Elizabeth never attained, soon proved himself utterly deficient as ruler of the country in a moment of almost unexampled difficulty. As already noted, the former "Directors" had, while abandoning that title, retained almost all their former power. At a moment when a dictator with uncontested authority could perhaps have saved the country, constant quarrels between the new German generals, Anhalt and Hohenlohe, and

[1] Lontorp (Lontorpius) (*Acta publica der Kaiserlichen und zu Hungern und Böhmen Königlichen Majestät weiland Matthiae und Ferdinandi*, 1621) prints these four letters.

Thurn and Mansfeld, the earlier commanders of the Bo
hemian forces, took place.

The king's notorious incapacity in military affairs, i
which he had as a youth received no instruction,[1] rendere
his position even more hopeless. The military ignorance o
the king was probably one of the reasons why about thi
time the supreme direction of the defence of the countr
was entrusted to a council of war. Besides the princi
pal Bohemian statesmen and generals, Baron Tschernembl
leader of the Protestants of Upper Austria, and Genera
Hofkirchen, commander of the levies of the Protestan
Estates of Lower Austria, who had sought refuge i
Bohemia, formed part of this council. Tschernembl, awar
of the desperate position of the country, advised desperat
remedies. He demanded that the order calling the whol
male population to arms should be more strictly carrie
out, and demanded a great increase of the taxation an
the abolition of serfdom. The latter step, he justly urge
was absolutely necessary to interest the masses in the de
fence of their country. These proposals, obviously oppose
to the landed interest, and therefore to the wishes of th
great Bohemian nobles who were the originators of th
movement against the house of Habsburg, were rejecte
by the council of war; in fact, the deliberations of tha
body, which, as Gindely says had been summoned at
moment when the possibility of its proving useful had alread
almost ceased, led to hardly any practical result.

It is, however, probable that it was on the suggestio
of the council of war that the king at last decided t
leave Prague (September 28) and to join his army. Th
fact that his cousin, Maximilian of Bavaria, himself led th
Catholic forces rendered the king's presence with his troo
even more necessary than it would otherwise have bee
Before the king had joined his army, the enemy ha
already achieved important successes. Duke Maximilia
and Bouquoi had taken the towns of Vodňan, Prachati
and Pisek by storm. Instead of marching directly o
Prague, they then led their forces in the direction
Pilsen, the most important town of Western Bohemi
which was now held by a strong force under Mansfeld

[1] This circumstance, very exceptional in the case of a German prin
of that period, is noted in the *Mémoires sur la vie et la mort de
Princesse Loyse Juliane Electrice.* A Leyden, 1644.

On first joining his army, Frederick, perhaps in consequence of his ignorance of military matters, seems to have taken a not unfavourable view of the situation. In a letter to Doge Priuli, he informed him that he hoped soon to expel and totally defeat the invading army.[1] Events unfortunately were not in accordance with the king's previsions. When the enemy's troops approached Plzeň, an emissary sent by Mansfeld appeared and demanded an armistice. Mansfeld had long been at discord with the other Bohemian generals, and his troops, who had received no pay for a year, were mutinous. It is, however, probable that a promise of a large sum of money was made to Mansfeld, and that this was the principal cause of this act of treachery, which destroyed the last hopes of the Bohemians. The army of the king had in the meantime arrived at Rokycan, near Plzeň, and a joint attack on the Imperial forces would not have been without some chance of success. Treachery was indeed prevalent in the Bohemian camp, as Frederick particularly noticed in a letter to Queen Elizabeth written about this time.[2] The army at Plzeň now no longer menacing their flanks, it was natural that Bouquoi and the Duke of Bavaria—or rather Tilly, to whom he delegated the actual management of the campaign—should have decided to march on Prague. In their opinion, which the events justified, the surrender of the capital would end the Protestant movement in Bohemia as well as in the other lands of the Bohemian crown. Well informed as they were concerning all that occurred in the Bohemian camp, they

[1] "Nos potenti Dei brachio confisi et nequidquam copiam exercitus hostilis metuentes in persona copiis nostris militaribus adesse voluimus hostem subinde insequentes ut si qua praeliandi occasio (quam praetertabi et neglegi serio cavebimus) offeratur, caput capiti objiciamus et Deo conatibus nostris propitio finibus regni nostri arcere et peritus fundere valeamus" (Letter dated, "In Castris ad Lnarz," October 7, 1620, in the State Archives at Venice).

[2] "Depuis nous avons été avertis que le Duc de Bavière et le Comte de Bouquoi ont été en bataille toute la nuit pour nous attendre; de là on peut juger qu nous n'avons faute de traitres." This letter, dated "Rochesance (Rokycan) Le 12/22 Octobre 1620," is printed in Sir George Bromley's *Royal Letters;* a book quaintly described by Carlyle as "one of the most curious books on the Thirty Years' War, 'edited' with a composed stupidity and cheerful infinitude of ignorance which still further distinguishes it." The book is, however, not without value for students of Bohemian history.

probably knew that the king's arrival had in no way improved the situation, and that the dissensions among the generals, and the turbulence of the soldiers, were on the increase. A gain of time was, therefore—in view of the increasing demoralization of the Bohemian forces—an advantage for the Imperialists, and they decided against marching on Prague by the direct road which led through Rokycan, round which town Frederick's army was encamped. The Catholic army therefore advanced from Plzeň to Kralovic, as if intending to attack Northern Bohemia. After it had arrived there it suddenly turned eastward, in the direction towards Prague. Anhalt, who in view of the notorious incapacity of the king had assumed the command of the Bohemian army, was not deceived by the feint of his adversary. His army marched on Prague by the direct road, and arrived at Rakonic shortly before the Imperialist forces. The mediæval fortifications of that town still afforded some defence against such artillery as was then in use. Numerous skirmishes took place during the days in which the two armies confronted each other near Rakonic. The demoralization of the Bohemian army daily became more apparent, and we are told[1] that in one of the skirmishes near Rakonic two hundred and fifty Bohemian horsemen fled at the approach of eighteen Bavarians. Frederick also gave himself up to complete despondency, and hastily sent a messenger to Prague requesting Queen Elizabeth to leave Bohemia immediately. This plan was frustrated, not only by the opposition of the Bohemian nobles, but also by the courageous attitude of the queen. She treated Frederick's suggestion with undisguised contempt; and, indeed, during the short period of their reign showed a firmness and courage in which her husband was lamentably deficient. Though the Bohemians were unable to oppose their enemies in the open field, the strong natural position of Rakonic and its fortifications rendered it difficult for the Catholic forces to dislodge Anhalt, at least without great loss of life. They therefore —on the advice of Tilly—decided again to outflank the Bohemians and to march straight on Prague. Anhalt however, soon discovered that the camp of the Catholics had been evacuated. He therefore also hurried to Prague on parallel roads, fearing that the enemy might arri

[1] Gindely, *Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges.*

there before him. Near Unhost, two (German) miles from Prague, the armies were close to each other, but Anhalt avoided a battle in what appeared to him an unfavourable position. He hurried on to Prague, and reached the outskirts of the capital on the evening of November 7. The Bohemian forces occupied a strong and judiciously chosen position on the "White Mountain" (Bila Hora), a few miles outside the walls of Prague. King Frederick immediately left his army and retired to the royal castle on the Hradčin, still bent on urging Queen Elizabeth to fly; he perhaps also wished to avoid the responsibility of commanding an army over which he no longer had any authority. Early on the following morning—November 8—the Catholic forces arrived before Prague, the Bavarians and other troops of the "Liga" forming the vanguard. Tilly and the Duke of Bavaria, contrary to the opinion of Bouquoi, decided on an immediate attack. The great demoralization in the Bohemian army, which was well known to the enemies, together with the fact that—following the example of their king—many Bohemian officers had left their soldiers and retired to Prague, rendered an immediate assault advisable; particularly as the Imperialists wished to finish the campaign before the winter. These motives, more probably than the eloquence of a Dominican friar, to which the decision was afterwards attributed, induced the Catholics immediately to begin their attack.

The numerical forces of the contending armies were nearly equal. The troops of the Catholic "Liga" numbered about 12,000, the Imperialists about 15,000 men. The forces of Anhalt—including 8000 Hungarian horsemen sent by Bethlen, and the levies of the Protestant nobles of Austria—also amounted to about 27,000 men. Nearly equal in numbers, the armies were very unequal as regards their fighting capacity. The Catholic troops, well fed and regularly paid, were thoroughly prepared and eager for battle; while the numerous monks, especially the Jesuits, whom the Duke of Bavaria had brought with him, inflamed the soldiers to fight bravely against the heretics. The Bohemian troops, on the other hand, who since the beginning of the war had been irregularly paid, and who had suffered great privations, were on the verge of mutiny. The generals to the last continued quarrelling among themselves, while the now notorious incapacity of the king, and his openly

displayed despondency, contributed to render the result o the battle certain.

It was on Sunday (November 8) that was fought th battle which terminated the existence of Bohemia as a independent state. Even before the Romanist council o war had decided to attack the Bohemian army immediately a small Bavarian force—not yet supported by the mass o the allied army—attacked the right flank of the Bohemia position. Count Šlik, who commanded some of th Moravian troops, hastily sought Christian of Anhalt, beggin his permission to attack the Bavarians on their march. I was a weighty and fateful moment in the history of th Bohemian people.[1] Anhalt at first favoured the proposa but on the advice of Hohenlohe—one of Frederick' German generals—finally refused his consent. The whol mass of the Catholics had meanwhile united, and advance along the whole line, Tilly soon succeeding in driving bac the enemies on the right flank of the Bohemian army. Th Imperial cavalry attacked Count Thurn's regiment on th extreme left of the Bohemian position. The attack o the Imperialists was bravely repulsed by the Bohemia troops, and the cavalry of the younger Prince of Anhalt made a successful attack on the Imperialist infantry, o which two regiments were put to flight. The situation fo a moment became so serious that Bouquoi, who had bee wounded in one of the skirmishes before Rakonic, and wa hardly able to sit his horse, rode to the front to encourag his soldiers; but the news of the complete success obtaine by Tilly and the troops of the "Liga" over the right win of the Bohemian army soon re-established the confidence o the Imperialists. The Hungarian horsemen on their firs onslaught defeated the cavalry of Maximilian, but were soo beaten back by his infantry. Considering the battle a already lost, they fled in great confusion in the direction o the river Vltava, which they attempted to cross by a for just above Prague—near the present suburb of Smichov where more than a thousand of them were drowned. Th combined forces of the Romanists soon stormed the sma redoubts, which Anhalt had hastily erected in the nigh preceding the battle, and the whole Bohemian army, seize by a wild panic, fled in disorder in the direction of the gate

[1] Dr. Kreb's *Die Schlacht am weissen Berge.*
[2] Son of Christian of Anhalt.

of Prague. There were a few exceptions to the well-nigh general cowardice. A small body of Moravian troops, headed by Count Henry Šlik and the younger Count Thurn, retired in the direction of the park known as the "hvězda" (star) where they continued their defence till almost all had been killed.[1] The soldiers of the Palatinate, who formed Frederick's body-guard, died almost to a man in defence of the cause of their unworthy sovereign.[2] These isolated instances of bravery were, of course, unavailing to avert the general disaster, and a battle of a few hours decided the fate of Bohemia.[3]

King Frederick, as already mentioned, had proceeded to the town of Prague as soon as the Bohemian troops arrived at the White Mountain. Weston and Conway, the English ambassadors sent by King James, had arrived at Prague, and the king wished to entertain them at a banquet. It was at this banquet, an eye-witness[4] tells us, that the king received the news that his troops were engaged in battle. He mounted his horse and rode to the neighbouring Strakov gate. By the time he arrived there the Bohemian army was in full flight, and the king, seeing that everything was lost, hastily returned to the palace on the Hradčin, from where, accompanied by the queen and the court officials, he crossed the Vltava, and retired to the

[1] Of this isolated and little known heroic defence Dr. Krebs writes eloquently: "The south-eastern wall of the Star park thus became the grave of Bohemian independence. Every Bohemian who passes by this spot should remember: it is sacred ground on which you tread."

[2] "Die Leibguardi des Churpfaltzgrafen zu Ross und zu Fuss welche blaue Rüstung gefuhret seien bis auff wenige neben ihrem Rittmeister von Wallesheim geblieben" (Nicolaus Bellus, *Osterreichischer Lorberkrantz*. Frankfurt, 1625). Bellus differs from most contemporary writers by saying that the battle lasted during the whole day. "Das Treffen hat von morgen biss Abends umb 5 Uhrn gewehrt."

[3] It is almost impossible that the battle should have lasted one hour only, as has been often stated. The belief in an almost instantaneous victory may have originated from the circumstance that the Catholics attributed their victory to the intervention of the Virgin Mary.

[4] "Castra Bohemica hostem tentare rumor ad Fredericum Regem defertur, interrupto, convivio, equum conscendit propere castra periculo agitata visurus, aderat globus equstris quingentorum capitum; eram et ego in isto comitatu, turbati convivii auctor. Ad portam Strahovensem accedente Rege clausa ista erat, circumspicit infelicem exercitus sui fugam, vidit repentes ad sublime valli Duces, ipsorum equos cum mille aliis per aperta cursitantes, spectaculum sane deplorandum. Clamore mulierum horrendo Rex perterritus arcem repetabat" (Habernfeld).

"old town" on the right bank of the river. A large part of the soldiery also hastily sought refuge on the right bank of the Vltava, while many more dispersed in various directions. On the same evening Frederick assembled his principal councillors and generals, to deliberate what steps to take. The king himself was strongly in favour of completely abandoning a cause he believed hopeless, and had but one wish—to leave Bohemia instantly. He displayed, however, a certain amount of courage, probably through the influence of the queen, and attempted to dissemble his opinion. Tschernembl spoke strongly in favour of further resistance. He suggested holding the town at least for a few days, collecting the scattered troops, and then making an orderly retreat. It was left to Tschernembl, a foreigner and a German, to remind the Bohemians of the glorious victory which their ancestors had achieved on Žižka's Hill, close to the spot where the deliberation took place. The younger Count Thurn, who alone of the Bohemian officers had fought not ingloriously during the battle, spoke in the same sense as Tschernembl. Christian of Anhalt, the originator of the intrigues and negotiations which had raised Frederick to his precarious throne, now spoke in favour of immediate flight; he had been in constant conflict with the Bohemian generals, and wished to leave the country as soon as possible. The principal argument of Anhalt was that the mutinous condition of the troops rendered it impossible to induce them to face the enemy again. He even suggested the possibility of their entering into independent negotiations with the Catholic leaders. Anhalt's former antagonist, Count Thurn, to whose influence the Defenestration and the beginning of the war were due, now also lost all courage, and spoke in favour of evacuating Bohemia. This was the king's opinion also, but he still attempted to postpone his decision. He therefore requested the English envoys, Conway and Weston, to enter into negotiations with the Duke of Bavaria and Bouquoi. The ministers undertook this mission, and sent a message to the Bavarian camp requesting an interview with Maximilian. This message remained unanswered, as did also a second one, which they forwarded on the following morning. It was well known to the Catholic princes that King James had no sympathy with the enterprise of his son-in-law, or indeed with the Protestant cause, and a

no period, perhaps, was the prestige of English diplomacy so low. As no answer was received, it was decided at nine in the morning (November 9) that the queen should leave immediately with her youngest child. The king still pretended to have the intention of remaining in the town. The queen's travelling-carriage was prepared: "the resoluteness he had hitherto displayed now forsook the king; when Elizabeth, carrying her son, entered the carriage, it became impossible to hold him back. He mounted his horse, and gave the signal for a general flight."

Though Mansfeld shortly afterwards again attempted to oppose the Imperialists, and some slight resistance was still offered by Moravia and Silesia, the battle of the Bila Hora was shortly followed by the complete submission of all the lands of the Bohemian crown.

What were the reasons which caused the Bohemian nation, that had two centuries before, proved itself victorious under even more difficult circumstances, to succumb almost without a struggle? There is no doubt that the universal adoption of serfdom in Bohemia had entirely changed the character of the population. In the Hussite struggle large armies of peasants had freely and enthusiastically defended their country, and the democratic instinct, innate in the Slav race, had had full play. The Bohemian war of 1618 to 1620 was on both sides waged by mercenaries, and the better paid and better fed soldiers of Tilly and Bouquoi easily prevailed over the troops of Frederick, who were almost always on the verge of mutiny. The national enthusiasm which had animated the Bohemians on previous occasions was also naturally absent in this, the last of their wars. The German prince, whom their nobles had elected as king, ignorant as he was even of the language of the land, could not inspire them with the confidence which—in spite of temporary differences—they felt for men such as Žižka and Prokop, born Bohemians, thoroughly in touch with the national feeling. The miserable irresolution and weakness, not to call it cowardice, displayed by the German prince, who had undertaken to govern a headstrong people, ill disposed to all foreign, and especially to German, rule, made his position even more hopeless. The religious enthusiasm on which Budova, Ruppa, and other more far-seeing leaders probably reckoned as a substitute for the necessarily absent racial one, was always found wanting. In Bohemia, as in

Germany, Protestantism was divided between the Calvinist and the Lutheran creed, and the strongest animosity then existed between the adherents of the two beliefs.[1]

The Calvinistic doctrine, then prevalent in the Palatinate, and which Frederick and his councillors would undoubtedly, had fate favoured them, have established in Bohemia, was distasteful to many of the Bohemian Protestants; they had, indeed, long diverged from the old utraquist Church, founded on the Compacts, but they had retained much of the ritual and discipline of the Church of Rome. The religious party most in harmony with the doctrine of the divines of the Palatinate was the "Unity" of the Bohemian Brethren; of these, however, many entertained scruples as to the right of resistance to temporal authority under any circumstances whatever. It has already been noted that Žerotin, the leader of the "Unity" in Moravia, who also exercised great influence over the Brethren in Bohemia, totally refused to join the movement against the house of Habsburg. It remains to allude to the hopeless situation of Bohemia in its relations to foreign countries. A country such as Bohemia, neither very large nor very rich, was at best unable to resist the entire power of that absolutist alliance between Spain, Austria and Rome which Fra Paoli Sarpi termed the diacatholicon.

There is no doubt that immediately after the battle of the White Mountain the councillors of Ferdinand decided to change entirely the ancient free constitution of Bohemia, though, as will be noted in the next chapter, circumstances did not permit of these changes being carried out immediately in their entirety.

Before the great changes in the political and religious condition of Bohemia were carried out, Ferdinand's government considered it advisable that the public punishment o

[1] In a letter addressed to Count Šlik, one of the Bohemian leaders—dated Dresden, August 23, 1619—Hoe, court chaplain to the Elector of Saxony, writes: "Your Lordship is known to the whole Christian world for your zeal against the injurious, blasphemous, and damnable Calvinistic creed. I beg your Lordship, 'per amorem Dei et pe vulnera Christi,' to retain these views, and to prove it, so that posterity may for ever have cause to praise your zeal. Your Lordship has no been able to endure the papal yoke; verily that of the Calvinist is a intolerable and indeed more so" (Letter printed in the pamphlet entitled *Wohlmeinende Missiv von Herrn D. Hoe, Oberhofprediger*, 1619). It may be added that Dr. Hoe did not deny the authenticity of this letter though he blamed Count Šlik for publishing it.

the leaders of the late revolution should take place. Early in the year 1621 the principal Bohemian nobles who had not fled from the country, and other leaders were arrested. On June 21 Budova, Count Černin, Count Šlik, Harrant Lord of Polžic, the celebrated Doctor Jessenius, who had negotiated with Gabriel Bethlen on behalf of the Bohemian Government, and others—twenty-seven in all—were executed in the market-place of Prague. They all met their fate with great fortitude.[1] On many others imprisonment and other lesser punishments were inflicted. "These melancholy executions mark the end of the old and independent development of Bohemia. Members of the most prominent families of the Bohemian nobility, eminent citizens and learned men, in fact all the representatives of the culture of the land, ended here, and with them their cause. The destiny of the country was henceforth in the hands of foreigners, who had neither comprehension nor sympathy with its former institutions."[2]

CHAPTER VIII

THE KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG FROM THE BATTLE OF THE WHITE MOUNTAIN TO THE PRESENT DAY (1620–1910).

It is certain that the fact that all resistance to the Imperialists ceased in the Bohemian lands very shortly after

[1] "When one of these holy men and martyrs for God was called out (from prison for execution) then to our great astonishment a leave-taking took place in a pleasant manner which rejoiced our hearts, just as if they were preparing to go to a banquet or some pastime. 'Now, my dear friends, may our Lord God bless and guard you; may He grant you the consolation of the Holy Ghost, patience and courage so that you may be able now also to prove in the moment of your death, that you have heartily and bravely defended the honour of God. I go before you that I may first see the glory of Eternal God, the glory of our beloved Redeemer; but I await you directly after me; already in this hour earthly grief vanishes and a new heart-felt and eternal gladness begins.' The other prisoners who remained behind answered, 'May our Lord God bless you on your way, for the sake of the guiltless death of Jesus Christ; may He send His holy angels to meet your soul. You go before us to the glory of Heaven. We also will follow you, and we are certain because of Him in whom we have believed, Jesus Christ, that we shall to-day all meet there again, and that with our beloved Redeemer, the angels, and the chosen of God we shall rejoice for ever'" (*Skála ze Zhoře*, vol. v. p. 110–111).

[2] Gindely, *Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*.

the battle of the Bila Hora is to a great extent due to the incapacity and cowardice of King Frederick. The negotiations into which the Imperial generals had—as mentioned in the last chapter—entered with Mansfeld soon failed after the battle of the White Mountain, as the victors were no longer prepared to pay the price he demanded for his treachery. Mansfeld, who still held the important town of Plzeň, therefore determined to return to the allegiance of King Frederick, and renewed hostilities against the Imperialists in Bohemia. The campaign was, however, of short duration. Frederick, always an unwilling soldier, refused to join his forces in Bohemia, though he forwarded a large sum of money to Mansfeld. The latter proceeded on a short visit to Heilbronn, where he helped to obtain aid from the German Protestants who were then assembled there. During his absence from Bohemia a mutiny broke out among his troops. On the condition of receiving a large sum of money, and being allowed freely to leave Bohemia, they surrendered the city of Plzeň to the Imperialists. In November 1621 Tabor, and in March 1622 Třeboň,[1] the last towns still held for King Frederick, also capitulated to the Austrians.

As already mentioned, the other lands of the Bohemian crown also offered but slight resistance to the Imperialists. Lusatia had even before the battle of the White Mountain been subdued by the Elector of Saxony. The Lutheran Elector immediately guaranteed to his co-religionists the free exercise of their religion. In the course of the Thirty Years' War Lusatia was ceded to Saxony, and its connection with Bohemia, always a slight one, henceforth ceased entirely. Moravia for a moment appeared inclined to offer some resistance to the Austrians. Count Thurn, after the departure of King Frederick from Bohemia, proceeded to Moravia and endeavoured to induce the Estates to continue their resistance. He met with no success. Charles of Žerotin,[2] the most eminent statesman of Moravia, had remained faithful to the house of Habsburg, even at a moment when the national cause appeared successful. He had done

[1] In German, Wittingau.

[2] For a sketch of the interesting career of Charles of Žerotin see my *History of Bohemian Literature* (2d ed. pp. 321–325), and particularly my introduction to my translation of Comenius's *Labyrinth of the World*.

so not without personal risk, as he had at the meeting of the Estates at Brno, which decided to join the Bohemians, been threatened by nationalists with the "fate of Martinic and Slavata." Zerotin now advised unconditional surrender, and hoped that some gratitude would be shown to those Protestants who had risked their lives and estates for the House of Habsburg. The Estates decided to send a deputation to implore the Emperor's mercy. The deputies were indeed received by Ferdinand, but he did not deign to answer their address. The Moravians some days later received a letter from the Imperial chancellory stating that it was only the inexhaustible graciousness of the Emperor which had induced him to condescend to receive the envoys. They were also told that the Emperor had appointed Cardinal Dietrichstein governor of Moravia, and that he had been instructed to punish mercilessly all enemies of Rome and of the house of Habsburg. In Silesia, also, the re-establishment of Austrian rule was carried out almost without bloodshed. The Emperor's ally, John George, Elector of Saxony, entered the country from Lusatia, and in consequence of his conciliatory attitude, occupied it almost without resistance. He promised a full amnesty to all concerned in the recent disturbances, and guaranteed to the Protestants freedom of religious worship. The Elector thus incurred the grave displeasure of Ferdinand, for it had already been decided in the Imperial councils that in future no heretic should be allowed to dwell in the Habsburg dominions. The Emperor also strongly disapproved of the granting of a general amnesty, and he by a special decree excluded from it the Margrave of Jägerndorf. The lands of the margrave, a prince of the House of Hohenzollern, who had been the leader of the Protestants of Lusatia and Silesia, were confiscated and given to one of the Emperor's courtiers. This fact is not without importance, as the wrongs inflicted on his ancestor were one of the reasons—or, as some have called them, pretexts—alleged by Frederick the Great, when he invaded Silesia.

The complete reorganization of Bohemia in accordance to the views of Ferdinand and of the Church of Rome involved so many new laws and enactments, referring to almost all matters connected with the country, that it is not easy to give a brief outline of the "Catholic Reformation,"—to use the official designation. The re-establishment of the Roman Church was the matter that Ferdinand had

most at heart, and it deserves to be noticed first because, of all the changes introduced after the battle of the White Mountain, it has proved the most permanent. Bohemia presents the nearly unique case of a country which formerly almost entirely Protestant, has now become almost entirely Catholic. The popular optimistic fallacy which maintains that in no country has the religious belief of a country been entirely suppressed by persecution and brute force is disproved by the fate of Bohemia.

It is a proof of the thorough knowledge of the mind of his master which the victorious Bouquoi possessed that he, but a few days after the battle of the White Mountain, forwarded to Vienna a large case containing all the parchments which recorded the ancient rights and privileges of Bohemia. Among them was of course the famed "Letter of Majesty," the object of Ferdinand's particular hatred. The Emperor greatly rejoiced, and with his scissors cut through the abhorred document, thus indicating that it had become invalid.[1] Ferdinand had in early life vowed to the Madonna of Loretto that he would exterminate all heresies in the lands which he was destined to rule. It must be admitted that he never swerved from the task which he had undertaken. As soon as the messengers of victory arrived, he determined to undertake a pilgrimage to Mariazell. The first celebrations however took place in Vienna itself. The Emperor and the whole court proceeded to the cathedral of St. Stephen, where a *Te Deum* was sung, and Cardinal Dietrichstein, in an eloquent sermon, celebrated the triumph of the Habsburg arms. Yet more impressive was a sermon preached on the following day by a Capuchin friar, Brother Sabinus, who was a great favourite of the Imperial court. The Emperor was present at this sermon also. Friar Sabinus reminded Ferdinand of all the insults he had endured from the Bohemians, and insisted on his duty now to act mercilessly; he should conform to the words of the Psalmist: "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel."[2] The Emperor—Friar Sabinus continued—must exterminate the nobility of Bohemia, and he must deprive

[1] In his recent interesting study on the "Letter of Majesty" Dr. Kroft has published a facsimile of the famed document. The traces of Ferdinand's scissors are clearly noticeable.

[2] Psalm ii. 9.

the people of all their liberties, and particularly of the "Letter of Majesty"; then would they become faithful and submissive subjects. Should the Emperor show any mercy, greater evils would befall him than those which he had recently undergone. "This moment," the friar continued, "is a decisive one. If the Emperor does not now act with energy the words of the prophet will be applied to him, who said: 'Because thou hast let go out of thy hand a man whom I appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people.'"[1] These words greatly impressed the Emperor. As Gindely has well said, the friar here expounded unconsciously the system according to which Ferdinand henceforth ruled Bohemia.

The expulsion from Bohemia of all who did not entirely conform to the Church of Rome was decided as soon as the news of the victory of the White Mountain reached Vienna. Circumstances, however, rendered it necessary that the measures to this purpose should be carried out gradually and consecutively. The members of the Lutheran Church were under the immediate protection of the Lutheran Elector of Saxony, who had been a faithful ally of Ferdinand during the recent campaign. Political reasons rendered an immediate expulsion of the Bohemian Lutherans very difficult, and some of Ferdinand's councillors who became known as the "Politicians" strongly advised moderation. Their influence, however, only occasionally succeeded in persuading the Emperor to delay some of his extreme measures. The principal agents employed by the Emperor to carry out the "Catholic Reformation" were John Lobelius, Archbishop of Prague, and Caspar Questenberg, Abbot of the Strahov Monastery. They were both Germans, and were inspired by a hatred of the Bohemian nation that was founded on racial as well as on religious motives. The first measure suggested by these men was the expulsion from Bohemia of all preachers who professed the Calvinist doctrine or belonged to the community of the Bohemian Brethren. This measure was immediately carried out, and in May 1621, 200 preachers had already been expelled from Bohemia. It would lead too far to enumerate all the consecutive steps of this relentless persecution, by means of which the complete extirpation of all creeds differing from the Church of Rome

[1] 1 Kings xx. 42.

was finally obtained. It can be stated generally that the policy of Vienna varied in accordance with the fluctuations of the Thirty Years' War. When the Imperial arms were successful, new rigorous measures were introduced in Bohemia. When the Protestant armies were victorious, the "Politicians" persuaded the Emperor to act with more moderation, and not to increase the number of his enemies.

Shortly after the first expulsions of Protestants from Bohemia, the extreme Romanists obtained a very zealous and powerful ally in the person of Carlo Caraffa, the new papal nuncio at Vienna. It is only of late years that the publication of his despatches, preserved in the archives of the Vatican, has proved how great a part Caraffa played in the Catholic Reformation of Bohemia. He visited Prague before proceeding to Vienna, and expressed strong displeasure at the tardiness with which, according to his opinion, the suppression of utraquism was being carried out. He was also very indignant when informed that in many churches of Prague communion was still administered in the two kinds. On the submission of the old-utraquist consistory[1] in 1587 and 1593, when it renounced all Hus's teaching, and somewhat later formally acknowledged the authority of the Pope, the Roman Church admitted communion in the two kinds in Bohemia, as it has indeed done in other countries also. Caraffa's demand was not, therefore, immediately granted. Through his influence, however, Prince Liechtenstein, the Austrian Governor of Bohemia, ceded to the Romanist priesthood numerous churches in Prague—besides those of which they had taken possession immediately after the battle of the White Mountain.

In the summer of the year 1621, Mansfeld's troops—as already mentioned—evacuated Bohemia, and the Austrian arms were at that time also successful in Germany. The result was a new decree—dated December 13, 1621—which expelled from Bohemia all priests and clergymen who did not conform to the Church of Rome. To avoid the displeasure of the Elector of Saxony, the Austrian government informed him that these priests were expelled not because they were opposed to the doctrine of Rome, but because they had taken part in the recent rebellion against the house of Habsburg. At the meeting of the Imperial Diet

[1] See Chapter VII.

at Regensburg in 1623, the envoys of the Elector of Saxony and even those of some of the Romanist princes remonstrated against the Imperial decree, which was indeed a direct violation of promises made by the Emperor to the Elector of Saxony. In consequence of the influence of Caraffa these remonstrances had no result.

In Bohemia the policy of Caraffa proved more and more successful. Communion in the two kinds was entirely suppressed. As the devotion of the people to the chalice was still very great, this led to considerable disturbances, particularly at Prague. When by order of the archbishop a Romanist priest accompanied by a large number of soldiers appeared in the Týn church while Locika, the parish priest, was celebrating Mass according to the utraquist rites, Locika refused to interrupt his service, and the people attempted to defend their revered priest. These expressions of the popular feeling were suppressed with extreme severity. Locika himself was arrested and conveyed to the castle of Krivoklat, "where it was said that he was decapitated so that he should in future cause no disturbances amongst the people."[1] The Roman ritual was now re-established in all the churches of Prague. This was done with particular solemnity in the church of St. Martin, where Jacobellus had in 1414 first dispensed the sacrament in the two kinds. At this time also the statue of King George of Poděbrad, which represented him pointing with his sword to the chalice of which he had been so valiant a defender, was removed from the façade of the Týn church as being an "utraquist emblem." The indignation of the citizens, most of whom were still attached to their ancient faith, was naturally very great.

In consequence of the incessant expulsions of the clergy, very few priests for a time remained in Bohemia. In many villages and even small towns the religious services had entirely ceased. Though the Jesuits flocked to Bohemia in great numbers immediately after the defeat of the national cause, they were not able to occupy all the vacant parsonages and curateships. The Archbishop of Prague therefore declared that all utraquist priests could retain their livings, if they consented to administer the sacrament in one kind only, and to conform to the celibacy of the clergy, as established by the Roman Church. As most of the utraquist priests were married men, the archbishop

[1] *Skála ze Zhoře Historie Česká*, v. 213.

declared that their wives would be allowed to continue to live with them, if they agreed to accept the name of cooks, a word that under the circumstances of course veiled an opprobrious designation. Most of the priests indignantly rejected this insulting suggestion, but, forced by extreme poverty, some were obliged to agree to it. This measure which forced honest women, who had been married according to the rights of their Church, to choose between starvation and disgrace is one of the darkest pages of the very black records of the Bohemian Catholic Reformation.

Though from the moment that the battle of the White Mountain had been fought, many Bohemian nobles and citizens had been driven into exile, priests only had in the first years after the battle been expelled from Bohemia solely because they did not conform to the Church of Rome. In 1623, Bethlen Gabor, prince of Transylvania, again rose in arms against the house of Habsburg, and after defeating the Austrian troops, invaded Moravia. Moderation therefore for a time became necessary. In 1624, however, a treaty of peace was concluded with the Prince of Transylvania, and the Vienna official now considered the moment opportune to continue the persecutions in Bohemia. The nuncio, Caraffa, about this time obtained a powerful ally in the Jesuit father, Lamormain, who had just become the Emperor's confessor. Caraffa and Lamormain declared it to be an absolute necessity that all who did not conform to the Roman Church should be expelled from Bohemia. An exception was to be made only in favour of the Bohemian peasants whom serfdom attached to the soil, to the cultivation of which they were necessary. It was stated that by means of imprisonment and corporal punishment they could be forced to become at least nominal Romanists, and that in the course of time they, or at least their children, would become true members of the Roman Church. These suggestions appeared extreme even to such a religious enthusiast as the Emperor Ferdinand was. Lamormain advised him to meditate deeply on this weighty matter, and to prepare for this meditation by receiving communion. Lamormain then, leaving the court for a few days, retired to the Jesuit monastery in Vienna to offer up incessant prayers that his counsels might be favourably received. When he returned to court the Emperor declared to him that after receiving communion the Holy

Ghost had enlightened him and ordered him to accept without hesitation all advice that his confessor might give him.[1] By order of the Emperor two new decrees referring to the protestants of Bohemia were then published (May 1624). The first ordered the Imperial officials to pursue with greater energy all preachers whose teaching was not in accordance with that of the Church of Rome. The second practically, though not yet formally, excluded all Protestants from Bohemia. No Protestant was in future to enjoy the rights of citizenship, to own or to inherit land in Bohemia. No marriage which was not celebrated in accordance to the Roman rites, and no marriage of a Protestant was henceforth to be valid. Baptisms and burials without the assistance of a Roman priest were prohibited. These decrees caused great rejoicing in Rome. The nuncio was instructed to express the Pope's special gratitude, and the College of the Propaganda celebrated Ferdinand as a "second Constantine and Theodosius."[2]

It appears that these draconic regulations were not immediately carried out in their whole extent in Bohemia. Warfare with alternating results continued in Germany, and the "Politicians" at the court of Ferdinand may still have thought it advisable not to exasperate too much a once formidable nation. In 1625 the Elector of Bavaria warned Ferdinand that a new confederacy against the House of Habsburg appeared probable. Not entirely to alienate the sympathies of the Germans, Ferdinand decreed that non-Catholics should in the German districts of Bohemia be allowed to hold baptismal, marriage and burial services according to their "heretical" rites, with the tacit connivance of the authorities. To the Slavic majority of the population no such a favour was to be granted, "as it was not likely that their complaints would reach Germany."

On August 27, 1626, Tilly decisively defeated, at Lutter, near Wolfenbüttel, the army of King Christian of Denmark, who had come to the aid of the German Protestants, and about the same time Ferdinand's general Waldstein[3] defeated the forces of Bethlen Gabor. These victories, as usual,

[1] Despatch of Caraffa in the Vatican archives, quoted by Gindely.
[2] Quoted by Gindely from the acts of the propaganda.
[3] Even the example of Schiller is not a sufficient authority for calling the great general "Wallenstein." I use the form of the name which is accepted by the family and generally used in Bohemia.

caused the Catholic reformation to be carried out with greater energy. The Bohemians long opposed a tacit resistance to the efforts of the Romanist priests who strove to win them over to their creed. The Romanist services were held in the presence of only a few people, who were by force driven into the churches. Some of the preachers of the community of the Bohemian Brethren still secretly remained in their country and held secret services in the vast forests of Bohemia. Even many professed Romanists attended these services. Ferdinand was very indignant at this, and by his order a Government official informed the citizens of Kutna Hora, who appear to have been strong opponents of the Catholic reformation—that he considered "as beasts, not men,"[1] those who refused to accept the teaching of the only beatifying Church. The Romanist priests also, seeing how firmly the Bohemians clung to their ancient faith, became impatient. Thus the inhabitants of the small town of Žebrák complained that their parish priest insulted them, calling them "donkeys, boobies and fools."[2] Cardinal Harrach, who had succeeded Lobelius as Archbishop of Prague, declared to the Emperor that half-measures had proved unsuccessful and that the extirpation of all dissidents from the Roman faith could restore tranquillity to Bohemia. The "Politicians" again advised moderation, and the Emperor, as was his custom, left the final decision to the Jesuits. The councillors he chose were his confessor, Father Lamormain, and Father Philippi, the tutor of his son. The two Jesuits declared that the suppression of all heresy was the Emperor's first duty. They advised that members of their order should visit all parts of Bohemia and preach the true faith. They were to be accompanied by soldiers, who were to be quartered on the inhabitants till they formally made their submission to the Church of Rome. Should some men subsequently relapse into their former errors, troops should again be quartered on them, that vexations might bring them to their right minds, and they, having thus become wiser, should fulfil their duty.[3]

[1] "Nicht Menschen sondern Vieh" (Gindely, *Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Böhmen*).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] The stern ferocity of the Jesuits appears clearly in the Latin original of their report. They wrote: "Si . . . multi post acceptam instructionem perseverant in sua pertinacia, illi soli graventur milite et

Ferdinand did not hesitate to accept the advice of his councillors, and he shortly afterwards issued the famed decree of July 31, 1627. The emperor had himself chosen this day, as it was the anniversary of the death of St. Ignatius of Loyola. Its principal and very simple enactment decreed that no one not belonging to the Church of Rome should be allowed to live in Bohemia, or even to enter the country. This decree applied equally to all—nobles, citizens and peasants, men and women. The nobles were granted a delay of six months, within which they were to conform to the Church of Rome. Those who refused to do so were then granted a further term of six months for the purpose of selling their estates. No exceptions were made. Even Charles of Žerotin, a firm adherent of the house of Habsburg, who had risked his life for that dynasty, was obliged to leave Bohemia. Though a few "heretics" still remained in hiding in Bohemia, the "Catholic Reformation" can after this decree be considered as having been accomplished. Bohemia, at least nominally, became an exclusively Romanist State.

Two measures of minor importance are in close connection with this great change in the condition of the land. One is the suppression of the university of Prague, at least as a free and scientific institution. The university had strongly favoured the national cause. Several of the most important meetings of the patriots had been held at the Carolinum, the principal building belonging to the university. The learned physician Jessenius, who had been rector in the year of the Defenestration, a man of great talent and eloquence, had been employed by the "Directors" on several diplomatic missions. He was punished by the Imperialists with special cruelty. Before he was executed on the fateful 21st of June his tongue was cut out—as that of Cicero had once been—and was nailed to the scaffold. Some of the Spanish generals in the Imperial army, men such as Balthasar Marradas, Martin Huerta, Caretto del Grano,[1] who were noted for their excessive cruelty, suggested that in

parcatur conversis ut vexatio det intellectum et tamdiu graventur quoad escipiscant et officio satisfaciant."

[1] The names of these men, on whom vast estates in Bohemia were bestowed, were long preserved in the memory of the people. Hatred of the Spaniards long lingered in their minds, and even during the recent war between Spain and the United States many rejoiced over the defeats of the Spaniards.

consequence of the attitude of the university the Carolinum should be demolished. The Jesuits, however, opposed this scheme.

Ferdinand I had in 1556 introduced this Order into Bohemia, and the college of St. Clement was founded by it shortly afterwards. Between this new college and the ancient university of Charles IV, which had adopted the utraquist and afterwards the Lutheran teaching, a spirit of rivalry soon sprung up. A struggle between the two learned institutions began,[1] which ended only with the battle of the Bila Hora. After that victory Ferdinand no doubt immediately decided to suppress the ancient university and to transfer its funds and privileges to the Jesuit college. In this case also the great change was only carried out gradually. At the end of the year 1620 the estates belonging to the university were confiscated, and German soldiers, who grievously ill-treated the tenantry, were quartered there. The university vainly endeavoured to avert the blow that threatened it. The prorector Campanus, when Ferdinand arrived in Prague, addressed the victor in flattering Latin verses in a somewhat undignified manner.[2] Neither these verses nor the petitions of other members of the university made any impression on Ferdinand, who had already—on the advice of Father Lamormain—decided to establish the Jesuits in the university. Lamormain disapproved of all delay; he said that the university had for two hundred years been in the hands of the Hussites; teachers and magisters educated there in the atheist doctrine of Hussitism had appeared in all towns and hamlets; many had married rich widows, and the number of heretics had thus

[1] I can only allude briefly here to this interesting struggle. It is well described in Dr. Winter's *Děje vys Kých škol* (History of the High Schools of Prague).

[2] In conformity to their rather mean tendency, the verses of Campanus are very indifferent. He wrote—

> "Par virtute nepos et nomine, Caesar, habenas
> Qui nunc imperii temperat aequus, adest
> Arma deses rapuit funesta Boemia frustra
> Caesaris ad tanti mox ruitura pedes
> Victa tamen surges sub tali principe, surges
> Patria, parcus erit sanguinis ille tui.
> Tu quoque pone metus, Academi vera secutum,
> Assuetumque libris, innocuumque genus
> Aurea sub docto sunt principe secula doctis
> Talis et ire viri sole cadente, cadit."

become greater.[1] The Emperor finally decided that in consideration of the memory of King Charles the Carolinum should not be destroyed but placed at the disposal of the Jesuits, whose college was to take the place of the old university. The new foundation was to be called the "universitas Carolina Ferdinandëa." All the old magisters and professors were expelled, even Campanus, though he in the last years of his life professed the Roman creed. By the end of the year 1622 all the buildings belonging to the university had been handed over to the Jesuits, and—somewhat later than the teachers—all students who had not conformed to the teaching of Rome were expelled and exiled from Bohemia.

Closely connected with the suppression of all teaching opposed to Rome was the destruction of the ancient national literature of Bohemia. Almost all literature in Bohemia subsequent to Hus had been imbued with the spirit of the great reformer and patriot. All this literature was therefore doomed to destruction, and the Jesuits were certainly to a great extent successful. If we except the classical literatures, there is none to whom belong so many books the existence of which can be proved with certainty, yet of which all trace is lost, as to the older literature of Bohemia. Jesuits accompanied by soldiers—to prevent the possibility of resistance—were empowered to search for heretical books in all Bohemian dwellings from the nobleman's castle to the peasant's hut. The Jesuit Andrew Konias is particularly mentioned as rivalling the fame of Omer or Archbishop Theophilus. He is perhaps the greatest book destroyer known to history, and boasted of having himself burnt 60,000 Bohemian volumes.

To such enthusiastic Romanists as Ferdinand and his Jesuit councillors the re-establishment of the Roman Church in Bohemia and the complete suppression of all so-called heresies no doubt appeared the principal result of the Bila Hora. The complete transformation which Bohemia then underwent included, however, also an entire change in the constitution and even in the language of the country. In the years immediately following the great national defeat Bohemia was under martial law. The German and Spanish generals and the Austrian governor Charles of Liechtenstein

[1] Dr. Winter, *Děje vys Kých škol* (History of the High Schools of Prague).

wielded unrestricted power. In 1627 only Ferdinand published a new fundamental law known as the "renewed ordinance of the land."[1] Its principal points may here be briefly noted.[2] It had for centuries been a moot point whether the Bohemian crown was an elective or an hereditary one. This point was now settled for ever. The Bohemian crown was declared to be hereditary in the house of Habsburg, both in the male and in the female line. Only in the case of the complete extinction of that dynasty was the right of electing a sovereign to be reassumed by the Estates. The ancient ceremony of the "reception" of the new king, which had continued during the rule of the first Habsburg princes, and which preserved a semblance of a sanction to the presence of the new ruler on the part of the Estates, was abolished. The ceremony of the coronation of the kings was, however, retained. The representative institutions of the land were also remodelled. To the three Estates—the nobles, knights and townsmen—a fourth, the ecclesiastical one was added, and this one was to take precedence over all the others. In Moravia the ecclesiastical Estate had already existed previously. It now obtained there also precedence over the other Estates. It was further decreed that all privileges and rights granted to "acatholics"—as all who did not belong to the Church of Rome now began to be officially called—were revoked. With the exception of the Jews, no one not belonging to the Roman Church was henceforth to reside in Bohemia. A further very important enactment declared that the sovereign henceforth reserved to himself the entire legislative power in the Bohemian lands. Most of the ancient State offices continued to exist, but the most important of them, that of burgrave of the Karlstein, was suppressed. A great change took place with regard to the appointment to the offices of State. The king had hitherto been obliged to be guided in his choice by the opinion of the Estates. He now obtained the power of appointing practically whomever he wished. A further enactment greatly restricted the powers of the Bohemian law courts, and reserved to the sovereign the right of

[1] In Bohemian "Obnovené Zřiženi zemoké."

[2] For this very short sketch I am largely indebted to the learned Professor Kalousek. His *České Statni Právo* (in a rough translation "The Bohemian Constitution") is the standard work on Bohemian constitutional history.

revising and annulling all their decisions. It was further declared that the right of granting citizenship[1] to foreigners, which the Estates had formerly possessed, should in future belong to the king. A last and very important enactment stated that henceforth the German language should in all law courts and Government offices be recognized as having the same value as the national language.

In the preamble to this constitutional enactment Ferdinand declared that he had conquered the Bohemian lands by the force of the sword and that "the whole kingdom had rebelled in forma universitatis"—a statement which, according to the then generally accepted views, involved the loss of all the ancient rights and privileges of the nation. In apparent contradiction to this declaration, the Emperor nineteen days after the publication of the new ordinance issued a decree stating that he allowed the Bohemians to preserve their ancient privileges as far as they had not been suppressed by the new constitutional enactments. This contradiction has often been noticed, and the learned Professor Kalousek—our principal authority on the constitutional history of Bohemia—thinks that Ferdinand's promise was never a genuine one, and that it was only made to pacify the Bohemians. This question has of recent times again been discussed on several occasions—in 1847 when the Bohemian Estates attempted to recover some of their ancient rights, and in 1871 when that talented and able statesman the late Count Hohenwarth made an attempt to re-establish the ancient constitution of Bohemia.

It is significative of the spirit which animated the new rulers of Bohemia that though it had been decided that the "new ordinance of the land" should be published in Bohemian, German and Latin, only the German version was printed. This leads us to consider another great change in the condition of Bohemia, which resulted from the battle of the Bila Hora, but which has proved less permanent than many others. It is probable that with the exception of the earliest period Bohemia always had a certain number of German inhabitants, and the Jews who arrived very early in Bohemia at all times preferred German to the national language. The number of German inhabitants in Bohemia varied according to the political situation of the country, but the Germans were always considered as foreigners

[1] In Bohemian "inkolat."

dwelling in the land. The Diet of 1615 had recently published new enactments favourable to the national language.[1] Even after the battle of the White Mountain, a German prince, John George, Elector of Saxony, had when writing to Ferdinand stated that a German in Bohemia was to be treated as a "guest and stranger."[2] In this respect a complete change took place. It has already been mentioned that the German language was granted equal rights with the national one, and as the new judges and officials appointed by Ferdinand often knew little or no Bohemian, the German language shortly after it had been admitted obtained preference to that of the country.

Another circumstance that contributed largely to the decline of the Bohemian language was the system of land-confiscation which the Imperialists carried out on a gigantic scale. Almost the whole of the ancient nobility of Bohemia was deprived of its estates. The first confiscations touched only those who had—sometimes under compulsion—recognized the government of King Frederick. The later confiscations, however, included all who did not conform to the Roman creed, even if they had always continued faithful to the house of Habsburg. More than half the landed property in Bohemia was confiscated, and of the larger estates in the country only one hundred and forty-seven remained in the hands of their previous owners.[3] These were principally Bohemian Romanists such as Slavata, Martinic, and Waldstein, who at this moment laid the foundation of his vast fortune. The place of the ancient Bohemian nobles who were driven, often penniless, into exile was taken by a very motley company, consisting mainly of Imperial courtiers and generals. We find among these men of various nations—Germans, Spaniards, Walloons, Italians, and, after the fall of Waldstein, Scotchmen and Irishmen. All, however, shared a common devotion to the Church of Rome, and a common hatred of the Bohemian nation. These men were almost all ignorant of the Bohemian language, which indeed they despised as the

[1] See Chapter VII.

[2] "Gast und Fremdling." Letter of the Elector of Saxony to Ferdinand dated $\frac{\text{October 28}}{\text{November 8}}$ 1622 quoted by Gindely, *Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Böhmen.*

[3] Dr. Bílek, *Dějiny Konfiskací v Čechách* (History of the Confiscation in Bohemia).

language of heretics. It was mainly in the interest of these intruders and of the members of the Roman Church on whom vast estates had been bestowed and among whom there were at first hardly any Bohemians, that the new regulations in favour of the German language were established.

A yet greater change took place in the Bohemian towns. The numerous Protestants, mostly of the Bohemian nationality, who had inhabited these towns and who had refused to apostatize were driven into exile, and they were replaced by German immigrants belonging to the Church of Rome. Many Bohemian towns such as Litoměřice and Louny,[1] formerly national strongholds during the Hussite wars, now became German and have continued so up to the present day.

While the nobles and citizens, who wished to preserve their religious convictions, were at least allowed to leave their country, though often in a state of complete destitution, no such option was granted to the peasants whom serfdom attached to the soil, for the cultivation of which they were required. They were to remain there, but to remain there as Romanists. Serfdom now only appeared in its full horror. The new landowners punished with fiendish cruelty all who did not regularly attend at Mass or avoided receiving communion according to the Roman rites.

It has already been mentioned that the Imperial arms were generally victorious during the years that immediately followed the battle of the White Mountain. These successful campaigns confirmed Ferdinand in his plan of restoring the Roman supremacy not only in Bohemia, but also in Germany. Recent research proved that the Emperor began about this time to cherish such far-reaching plans. The Imperial power had, in Germany, receded for centuries, and the princes had to an ever-increasing extent assumed the position of sovereign powers. It appears very probable that the Emperor, who knew how completely the Spanish branch of his family had succeeded in establishing absolutism in Spain, hoped to achieve a similar constitutional change in Germany. Ferdinand was greatly encouraged in these ambitious plans by his powerful general Albert of Waldstein.

Though it would be very tempting to search for a new solution of the Waldstein problem—one of the strangest

[1] In German "Leitmeritz" and "Laun."

enigmas of history[1]—the purpose and scope of this work preclude an attempt to do so here. Yet the career of the great Bohemian warrior must be briefly delineated here. Albert of Waldstein—born in 1583—belonged to one of the oldest families of the Bohemian nobility, which traced its origin as far back as the thirteenth century. His family had accepted the utraquist creed, but after the early death of his parents he was educated in the tenets of the Bohemian Brethren, by his uncle, Lord Henry of Slavata. After the death of this uncle another relation, who now became his guardian, sent him to the Jesuit school at Olomouc, where he soon adopted the Roman creed. None of these changes of religion appear to have been even to the slightest extent founded on conviction. The fact that Waldstein was a devotee to astrology renders it probable that he was imbued with the spirit of superstition which is so often found in conjunction with religious agnosticism. Waldstein then visited several universities, staying longest at that of Padua It is hardly fanciful to suggest that the tales of the great Italian adventurers and condottieri of the cinquecento which he must have frequently heard, made a great impression on the mind of a young man so thoroughly imbued with ambition as was Waldstein. On his return to his native land Waldstein married a rich widow and thus became owner of large possessions in Moravia, and a member of the Estates of that country. As he was related to Charles of Žerotin, then the most influential noble of Moravia, Waldstein through his protection was soon able to play a considerable part in the politics of the country. When the Estates of Moravia took up arms against Rudolph II and supported King Matthew,[2] Waldstein was given the command of a cavalry regiment. When, however, in 1619 the Bohemian forces invaded Moravia, Waldstein did not follow the example of the other nobles, most of whom joined the Bohemians, but remained faithful to the Imperial cause.

[1] Since the revival of historical study in Bohemia, the historians of that country have largely devoted their attention to the career of their great countryman. The late Professor Rezek wrote that the more he studied the history of Waldstein, the less did the great condottiere appeal to his sympathy. It is stated that when Palacký was examining a monument to Waldstein, which had then been recently erected in Vienna, he long contemplated the statue in silence, and then expressed his judgment in the one word: "darebak!" (scoundrel).

[2] See Chapter VII.

The soldiers whom he commanded, mostly utraquists, joined the Bohemians, and Waldstein was obliged to seek refuge at the Imperial court of Vienna, accompanied only by a few horsemen. He thus laid the foundation of the great favour which he long enjoyed at the court of Ferdinand. He took part in the campaign which ended with the battle of the Bila Hora, and was noted for the great severity, and indeed cruelty, with which he maintained order in Prague after the city had capitulated to the Imperialists.

Waldstein seized the opportunity of the vast confiscations of Bohemian estates which took place after the battle of the White Mountain to acquire an enormous fortune. As a favourite of the Emperor he was able to purchase at an almost nominal price vast estates which had belonged to exiled Protestants. The expense incurred by Waldstein was still further diminished by the fact that he had, together with Prince Liechtenstein, Austrian governor of Bohemia, and other Imperial courtiers, authorized the Jew Bassewi to introduce an adulterated coinage into Bohemia, in which all payments were made by those who enjoyed the favour of the court of Vienna. Though he had thus become a very wealthy man and one of the greatest landowners in Bohemia, Waldstein continued to serve in the Imperial army, which principally through his military talent obtained brilliant victories. Waldstein was successful against the Hungarian army of Bethlen Gabor, and also defeated in Moravia and Silesia the forces of the Margrave of Jägerndorf and of Count Thurn. Through these victories the Imperialists, however, obtained but a short respite. The ever-increasing conviction that the total destruction of Protestantism was the real aim of the Habsburg dynasty, induced all Protestant princes consecutively to oppose Ferdinand. When in 1625 the King of Denmark attacked the Emperor, Waldstein not only undertook the command of the Imperial forces, but he also, by granting Ferdinand a very large loan, enabled him to raise a considerable army. As Gindely has well pointed out, the dependence of the Emperor on Waldstein was a result of the continued financial difficulties that confronted Ferdinand. He was always lavish of gifts to all priests and monks, and even in moments of the greatest financial distress insisted on maintaining a large and expensive court and household. Ferdinand may have been impressed by the example of his Spanish kinsmen who had succeeded

in transforming into courtiers the former nobles of the country—a result that of course was favourable to th absolutist policy of the house of Habsburg.

In the new campaign Waldstein was again victorious He defeated at Dessau the army of Mansfeld, who wa acting in alliance with the King of Denmark. Waldstei was now at the acme of his power. He treated the Germa princes with studied discourtesy, when they attempted t complain of the depredations committed by his troop This was by no means displeasing to the absolutist courtie of Ferdinand. In 1625 Waldstein received from th Emperor the title of prince, and in 1627 that of Duke Friedland. The town of Jičin near Friedland in Bohem became the centre of his vast dominions. He here exercise almost sovereign power and obtained the right of coinin money; disregarding the Imperial decrees, he continued tolerate Protestants in his territory and even employe them in his service. Of all the fantastic plans attribute to Waldstein, that of becoming King of Bohemia, particu larly according to recent research, appears to be the on one that seriously entered into his mind. After the defe of the King of Denmark the Emperor conferred on Waldste the two duchies of Mecklenburg, as the rulers of these lan had been allies of the Danes. As Northern Germany w very shortly afterwards overrun by the Swedes this g proved somewhat a barren honour. It, however, granted Waldstein the then very extensive rights and powers of sovereign prince of the empire, and Waldstein's defende have often laid stress on this when attempting to justify t negotiations with foreign powers into which he afterwar entered.

These repeated successes of the Imperial arms natura encouraged the extreme adherents of Rome, who we always very powerful at Ferdinand's court. The impetuo confessor Lamormain assured his Imperial master that would imperil his soul if he did not at least partially intr duce in Germany those reforms that had already be carried out so successfully in Bohemia. The result of the counsels was the famed "Edict of Restitution" which t Emperor after considerable hesitation signed on March 1629. This enactment decreed that all monasteries a ecclesiastical possessions of which the Romanists had be deprived since the so-called "interim" of Passau in 15

and the additional treaty of Augsburg in 1555 should be restored to them. The Romanist owners after their return were to be granted the right then belonging to all territorial lords in Germany, of obliging their new subjects to conform to their creed. During a period of nearly 80 years these possessions had frequently changed hands, and the edict would have reduced thousands of men to beggary and violated the religious convictions of hundreds of thousands. Had such a law been carried out—Gindely writes—North Germany would have been obliged to suffer a system of confiscation and anti-reformation, similar to that under which Bohemia was then groaning. Waldstein did not hesitate openly to blame the edict, and the Jesuits, Lamormain in particular, henceforth became his bitterest enemies. It was largely in consequence of this circumstance that when the German princes at the Diet which was held at Regensburg in 1630 demanded that Waldstein should be deprived of his command, Ferdinand consented to this with very little hesitation. Waldstein made no attempt to retain his command. He retired to Bohemia, where he lived partly in the magnificent palace which he had built at Prague, partly on his vast estates.

The triumph of Catholicism in Northern Germany was short-lived. On July 6, 1630, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, landed on the island of Usedom and in a very short time subdued a large part of Northern Germany. It is not my purpose to refer here to the events of the Thirty Years' War, except on the not infrequent occasions when they had a direct influence on the fate of Bohemia. After the Elector of Saxony had—abandoning his former allies—joined the Swedish king, the combined Protestant armies decisively defeated the forces of the Imperialists and the German Romanists at Breitenfeld near Leipzig on September 17, 1631.

After his great victory Gustavus Adolphus hesitated what course to pursue. Some of his councillors advised him to march from Saxony directly into Bohemia and Moravia, whence the road to Vienna lay open. Many of Waldstein's generals had followed their chief into retirement and had dismissed their soldiers. The population of Bohemia and Moravia, which had endured ten years of incessant persecution, was bitterly disaffected to the Habsburg dynasty and to the Roman clergy. There is little doubt that an invasion

of the Habsburg dominions would at this moment hav proved successful. The very numerous Bohemian exiles— sanguine, as all exiles are—believed that their ancient ind pendent kingdom would now be re-established.

For reasons which it is not easy to comprehend, the kin of Sweden determined to march into Southern German and to leave the task of occupying Bohemia to his Saxo allies. The Saxon invasion of Bohemia was carried out i a very half-hearted fashion. The Elector, a worthy man very limited intelligence, disliked the Swedes as bein foreigners in Germany, and had reluctantly taken up arm against the Emperor, whom he considered his liege-lor because of the Edict of Restitution and because of th depredations committed in Saxony by the Imperial troop In the autumn of the year 1631 the Saxon troops entere Bohemia, and on November 11 they occupied Prague, th city surrendering without offering any resistance. With th Saxon troops many Bohemian exiles, Count Thurn, Vence las of Ruppa, chancellor during the reign of Frederick, an others returned to Bohemia. One of the first acts of th exiles after their return was to remove the heads of the comrades—executed on June 21, 1621—which the Imperia ists had exposed on the bridge tower of the old town. The were then solemnly buried in the Týn church. The Jesui were again expelled from Bohemia, and eighty clergyme belonging to the Lutheran Church and to the unity of th Bohemian Brethren met at the Carolinum college deliberate on the re-establishment of the utraquist Churc The Elector of Saxony, who now also arrived at Pragu seems for a moment to have intended to put himself possession of the Bohemian crown, which, both in his ow time and in that of his ancestors, appeared on sever occasions to be within the reach of the Protestant princ of the house of Saxony. Should such a scheme, howeve prove impracticable, the Lutheran Elector far preferred th continuation of Habsburg rule in Bohemia to the establis ment of a Calvinistic kingdom in the immediate neighbou hood of his electorate. The distinctly hostile attitude whi Arnim, who commanded the Saxon army, took up wi regard to Thurn and the other Bohemian exiles, can accounted for in this manner only.[1]

In his desperate position the Emperor decided to appe

[1] This is well shown in Dr. Irmer's *Johann Georg von Arnim.*

again to Waldstein. The latter had left Prague before the arrival of the Saxons in that city and retired to his estates, which the enemy did not occupy. Arnim, the Saxon commander, had formerly served under Waldstein's orders and had remained on terms of intimacy with him. Before retiring to his estates Waldstein had an interview with Arnim at the castle of Kounic, between Prague and Nymburk. Waldstein informed the Emperor of this interview, but we have no reliable account of the conversation between the two generals. Several letters addressed by Waldstein to Arnim at this time have indeed been preserved, but they have no great importance, and contain little except requests that palaces belonging to Waldstein should not be injured by the Saxon soldiers. From Prague Waldstein first proceeded to Jičin, the capital of his Bohemian territory, and then to Znoymo in Moravia. He here met Prince Eggenberg, one of the most trusted councillors of Ferdinand. Eggenberg, in the name of the Emperor, begged Waldstein to resume the command of the Imperial forces. A similar proposal had already been made to him in a less formal manner at the beginning of the Saxon invasion. Waldstein finally consented, but only after the Emperor had agreed to sign a document which enumerated and accepted all the conditions which the Duke of Friedland had made. The document was destroyed after the death of Waldstein, and this transaction, like so many other facts concerning the last years of the Duke of Friedland, is shrouded in impenetrable mystery. It is supposed that the Emperor granted Waldstein unlimited command over all the Imperial armies and the right of concluding peace with the enemies of the empire, and that he promised to grant the Duke of Friedland one of the lands in possession of the house of Habsburg, if he was not able to recover the duchies of Mecklenburg. The land referred to can only have been Bohemia, a considerable part of which was already in Waldstein's hands.

I do not belong to those writers who have recently attempted to defend Waldstein—some because they see in him a friend of German unity, others from the directly opposite reason that they believe him to have been at heart a Bohemian patriot. I can see no solid foundation for either conjecture. We have evidence to prove that Waldstein attempted to enter, through the mediation of Count Thurn, into negotiations with King Gustavus Adolphus of

Sweden, though these negotiations were soon broken off. is equally certain that through Count Kinský, one of th principal Bohemian exiles, Waldstein promised Feuquière the French minister at Dresden, that he would abande the Imperial cause if the French Government recogniz him as King of Bohemia. It must be admitted, in justic that Waldstein was confronted by treachery as deep as h own. If Father Lamormain and the other Jesuits who, f more than his official councillors, were the real advisers Ferdinand, approved of his conferring such extensive powe on the Duke of Friedland, they undoubtedly did so with t mental reservation that the duke could, when the danger a Swedish invasion had passed, again be deprived of h command, or be "removed," should he offer any resistanc There was nothing in the Spanish policy then pursued the court of Vienna which was in contradiction to such plan.[1]

Immediately after Waldstein had resumed his comman the Imperial armies obtained brilliant successes. Enteri Bohemia in April 1632, Waldstein attacked Prague May 22, and recaptured the town after a very slight resistan The enemies evacuated the whole of Bohemia except p of the mountainous district close to the Saxon front From Prague Waldstein marched to Cheb, and his army w here joined by the forces of the Elector Maximilian Bavaria. The united Catholic armies now attempted to st the advance of Gustavus Adolphus. The King of Swed after his victory at Breitenfeld, had victoriously over almost all the south German lands. Numerous Gern princes, among them Frederick of the Palatinate, had join him. Through the influence of the former King of Bohe numerous English volunteers had taken service in Swedish army. Waldstein unsuccessfully attempted to st the Swedish fortifications at Nürnberg, and he was a defeated at the battle of Lützen (Nov. 6, 1633) when Gusta Adolphus fell. The great confusion in the Swedish ar which was a natural consequence of the death of the k enabled Waldstein to retire with his army in good order

[1] The correspondence of Father Quiroga, confessor to the empr a Spanish Infanta—with the Spanish Government, relating to the of bribing assassins to murder King Gustavus Adolphus, has been lished. The correspondence only ceased after the death of the Ki Sweden at Lützen.

Bohemia. He took up his winter quarters at Prague, and apparently taking no further interest in the progress of the war, busied himself with the administration of his duchy of Friedland, which he appears to have considered as the nucleus of his future Bohemian kingdom. Even when spring began and Waldstein should, according to the then usual system of warfare, have resumed hostilities, he for a considerable time hesitated to do so. At this moment the intrigues against Waldstein at the court of Vienna had already become very persistent. The Jesuits bitterly blamed the Duke of Friedland's indifference to religious matters and his reluctance to free Southern Germany from its Protestant oppressors.

Other meaner motives also influenced many of Waldstein's enemies. The generals and courtiers of Ferdinand viewed with envy the vast fortune and the numerous estates of the Duke of Friedland. They had decided to divide them among themselves as soon as Waldstein had been convicted of treason.[1] The latter was thoroughly aware of these machinations, which, according to his views, justified him in continuing his negotiations with the enemies of the Emperor.

In consequence of the repeated remonstrances of Ferdinand, Waldstein, on May 3, at last left Prague and, marching by way of Kralové Hradec, entered Silesia, which was then occupied by Swedish and Saxon troops under Thurn and Arnim. Waldstein's army was considerably superior in number to that of his opponents, and the Catholics looked forward with certainty to a great victory. They were, however, disappointed. Waldstein sent Count Trčka, one of his confidants, to the Saxon camp with the order to suggest to Arnim an interview between the two commanders. Waldstein and Arnim met on June 6,[2] but it does not appear that the generals arrived at an understanding. The Duke of Friedland, however, declared himself in favour of religious freedom both in Bohemia and in Germany. An armistice of a fortnight was concluded, and

[1] This is very clearly proved by Dr. Schebeck in his *Lösung der Wallensteinfrage.*

[2] According to Gindely it is only from this moment that any positive reason on the part of Waldstein can be proved. In a work of the extent of the present one, it cannot be attempted to solve the mystery which surrounds Waldstein's fall.

it was afterwards prolonged to July 16. This natural caused great indignation in Vienna. The Emperor sen new envoys to remonstrate with Waldstein, and these agen succeeded in obtaining from two of his eminent generals— Piccolomini and Gallas—the promise that they woul remain faithful to the Emperor "should Waldstein for reaso of health, or other causes, give up the command of th Imperial armies." On August 22, Waldstein had anothe interview with Arnim. He here appears to have spoke very openly. He declared that it was his intention to ris in arms against the Emperor and to restore to the Bohemia Estates the free right of electing their sovereign. He als offered to assist the Swedes should they attack the Elect Maximilian of Bavaria—Waldstein's old enemy.

It is a proof of the tortuous policy of the Duke of Frie land that, after having spent the summer of the year 1633 i negotiating with the enemies of the Emperor, he should hav attacked them in the autumn of that year. It is probab that the "perfidia plus quam Punica" of Waldstein whic was noted even at a period when treachery and statesmanshi were almost identical, caused the Protestant leaders to me his overtures with some distrust. It appears certain tha Oxenstierna, who since the death of the king directed th foreign policy of Sweden, distrusted the Duke of Friedlan The latter, thinking it advisable to show that his skill an strength had not decreased, attacked the Swedish force in Silesia that were then commanded by Count Thur Waldstein was again victorious. He defeated the Swedis forces at Steinau on October 11, and then returned Bohemia to winter there. His success for a time silence his enemies, but when it became known that the Swedis and German Protestant forces under Duke Bernhard Weimar had on November 15 obtained possession of th important city of Regensburg, Waldstein, who had refuse to march to the aid of his old enemy the Elector of Bavari was doomed. The Emperor, not entirely unmindful of th great services formerly rendered to him by the Duke Friedland, determined to make an attempt to induce hi voluntarily to resign his command. For this purpose sent Father Quiroga, the Empress's confessor, to Waldstein camp, but the latter absolutely declined to give his d mission. He had at this moment undoubtedly alread decided to join the Emperor's enemies. He, however, w

knew how important it was for his future plans that he should join the Saxons or Swedes as leader of a powerful and devoted army and not as a friendless fugitive. On January 12, 1634, Waldstein gave a great banquet to his principal generals and officers at Plzeň, which was then his headquarters. He requested all present to sign a document which stated that Waldstein was tired of his command, but that his generals formally declared that they would accept him only as their commander up to the moment when the Emperor had fully satisfied all the claims of Waldstein and his generals on the Imperial treasury. This declaration was signed by all present. Even if we interpret it in the most lenient fashion the document declared that the Emperor's right of dismissing his commander-in-chief was dependent on certain conditions. This undoubtedly constituted an act of mutiny.

Though the declaration was signed by all present, a considerable number of Waldstein's generals had previously entered into negotiations with the court of Vienna. Waldstein seems to have felt that he was not so sure of his army as he had previously believed. The negotiations with Ferdinand's enemies also proceeded but slowly, as Arnim, Waldstein's principal confidant, had great trouble in obtaining definite assurances from the irresolute Elector of Saxony. Waldstein therefore endeavoured to gain time, and to allay the suspicions of the Emperor. At a second banquet at Plzeň [1] on February 20, a paper was signed by the generals declaring that they would continue to be faithful to Waldstein and to obey his orders, and that they—together with him—would continue loyally to serve the Emperor.

It was, however, too late. On February 13 all communications between the Emperor and his general ceased. On February 18 the Emperor declared Waldstein and his generals Illo and Trčka to be traitors and ordered the army to obey only Gallas, Piccolomini and Maradas. At the same time the preachers in Vienna received the order to denounce Waldstein from their pulpits as a "traitor and tyrant." At the last moment Waldstein's new allies also began to move. On February 18 the Elector of Saxony agreed to a treaty of alliance with Waldstein and sent Arnim to Plzeň. Waldstein had, however, left Plzeň before

[1] Many writers on Waldstein have overlooked the fact that there were two banquets at Plzeň.

the Saxon envoy could arrive there. On February 1, Kin Louis XIII of France instructed Feuquières, his minister a Dresden, to inform Waldstein that if he definitely broke wit the Emperor, France would grant him an annual subsidy a million livres and support his claim to the Bohemia throne. Before De la Boderie, Feuquières' secretary, wh was entrusted with this message, could reach Bohemia Waldstein was dead.

The Duke of Friedland had undoubtedly intended t march on Prague as soon as the complete rupture with th Emperor had taken place. A born Bohemian, he knew th veneration which all Bohemians felt for the capital of the country, and—no doubt rightly—believed that his prestig would be greatly increased by the occupation of Prague He had recently shown himself more favourable to th national cause and had entered into negotiations with th very numerous Bohemian exiles, who up to the end of th Thirty Years' War hoped once more to return to their nativ land. The successive desertions of most of his troops oblige Waldstein to change his plans. He sent a message to Duk Bernhard of Weimar, begging him to send a small force t Cheb which he would join with all the troops that were sti true to him. Waldstein himself proceeded to that town o February 23, accompanied only by ten squadrons cavalry and 300 musqueteers. The departure from Plze appeared to the contemporary writers rather as a fligh than as the march of an organized army. At the decisiv moment of his life, when only full bodily and mental powe rendered possible the success of Waldstein's perilous adve ture, he was prostrated by a violent attack of gout. On h arrival at Cheb he was unable to come to a decision wit regard to his future plans. An Imperial decree had mea while set a price on the head of Waldstein, and a conspira was immediately formed among the—mostly Scotch an Irish—officers of the garrison of Cheb. These men, whom Butler, Gordon, Leslie and Devereux were th leaders, determined to invite the principal officers still fait ful to Waldstein—Kinský, Trčka and Illo—to a banquet the castle. When they arrived there the castle was im mediately surrounded in every direction by the Iri dragoons, and Waldstein's officers were attacked and mu dered after a short but valiant defence. Waldstein, who w still suffering from gout, had not taken part in the banqu

but immediately after the murders Colonel Butler and Captain Devereux hurried to his residence. He was quite unprepared and was immediately assassinated by Captain Devereux (February 25).

The fall of Waldstein[1] was followed by a new series of extensive confiscations in Bohemia. The numerous estates of the Duke of Friedland and his principal adherents were seized by the Imperial government and were granted to the generals of Waldstein who had remained faithful to the Emperor, and to the officers who had taken part in the murder of Waldstein. We now find several Irish and Scotch names among the new owners of Bohemian estates.

The events that immediately followed the death of the Duke of Friedland certainly speak for the wisdom of the Jesuits who had demanded his recall. King Ferdinand III, son of the Emperor Ferdinand, took the command of the Imperial armies, and it was decided to pursue an energetic policy against Sweden and France while endeavouring to negotiate with the Elector of Saxony. The Swedish chancellor Oxenstierna attempted meanwhile to unite the Protestant principalities and free towns of Germany for the purpose of combined action. Their representatives met under his presidency at Frankfurt on April 7, 1634. All parts of Protestant Germany were represented, and the Bohemian exiles also sent envoys who requested aid against Ferdinand. The Elector of Saxony was also represented, but his envoys maintained an attitude of distrust to Sweden, endeavouring to separate that country from its German allies. Whatever hopes Oxenstierna may have had were dissipated by the great victory which the Romanists, led by two princes of the house of Habsburg—King Ferdinand III and the Cardinal Infanta Don Fernando—obtained at Nördlingen on September 5 and 6, 1634. For a moment it appeared as if all the results of the victories of Gustavus Adolphus had been lost.

[1] The projects of Waldstein have recently been stated very clearly by Professor Pekář in his masterly work, *Dějiny Waldštynského Spiknutí* (history of Waldstein's conspiracy). Waldstein, an unscrupulous condottiere, can by no means be considered as a Bohemian patriot. Being Bohemian he was, however, fully aware of the great disaffection that still existed in his country, and he intended to use it to obtain the Bohemian crown. This is particularly proved by the close relations which he in the last years of his life entertained with the Bohemian exiles.

The Elector of Saxony, always secretly opposed to th interference of Sweden in the affairs of Germany, had eve before the battle of Nördlingen begun to negotiate with th Emperor in view of a treaty of peace. His representative met those of the Emperor at Litoměřice on June 15. Thes negotiations did not, however, put an immediate stop to th hostilities between the two countries, and the Saxons unite with the Swedes attacked Bohemia a few weeks later. Th Swedish general Banēr marched as far as the White Mour tain near Prague, but the news of the battle of Nördlinge obliged him to retreat hastily from Bohemia.

In the following year the prolonged negotiations betwee the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony were at last brough to a conclusion. Lusatia was definitely ceded to Saxon and the Edict of Restitution was, as far as it concerned th Lutherans, greatly modified. No provisions were made t secure toleration for the Calvinists as their bitter enem the court chaplain Hoe, still had great influence with th Elector. As regards the Bohemian Protestants, Ferdinan assumed the intransigent attitude which he afterwards mai tained during the negotiations which preceded the peace Westphalia. The Emperor positively refused to allow th presence of any Protestant in Bohemia or Moravia. Silesia the Protestants were to remain unmolested and t retain the use of a few churches. These assurances wer with the tacit connivance of the court of Vienna, frequentl violated by the local officials. The agreement betwee Austria and Saxony was signed at Prague on May 30, 163 and was followed immediately by a treaty of alliance betwee the two countries.

Ferdinand II died early in the year 1637, and was su ceeded by his son Ferdinand III, who had during h father's lifetime been crowned as King of Bohemia. Th Thirty Years' War continued with alternating success durin the first twelve years of the reign of the new ruler. In 163 the Swedes under their able general Banēr again invade Bohemia. A considerable number of Bohemian exiles aga accompanied the Swedish army, and when Banēr declare that he entered Bohemia as a protector of the freedom the Protestants, he was enthusiastically welcomed by ma Bohemian peasants. After capturing Podmokli,[1] Ústi a Litoměřice, Banēr advanced on Prague. The "Catho

[1] In German "Bodenbach."

Reformation" had, however, during the many years that had elapsed since the battle of Bila Hora made great progress, and the Swedes were not in all parts of Bohemia received as well as they had perhaps expected. Though Banēr in the year 1639 twice encamped before Prague, he did not attack the city. The Swedish troops committed great depredations in Bohemia. They spared only the property of the Bohemian Protestants, already a minority of the population, though many returned to their ancient faith as soon as they were able to do so with impunity. The events of the Thirty Years' War shortly afterwards obliged the Swedes to retire from Bohemia, and the "Catholic Reformation" was now carried out with renewed vigour. A war broke out between Sweden and Denmark in 1644 and obliged the Swedes to devote their attention to lands nearer to their home. In 1645, however, Bohemia was again invaded by a Swedish army under General Torstensohn. Sweden had then concluded an alliance with George Rakoczy, Prince of Transylvania, who was marching on Vienna. Should the Swedish forces join him before that city it would be possible —to use a well-worn expression—"to strike a blow at the heart of the Habsburg empire."[1] Torstensohn decided to march from Saxony on Vienna through Southern Bohemia, and he obtained a great victory over the Imperial forces at Jankov, near Tabor, on March 6, 1645. The few Protestants who still remained in Bohemia again joined the Swedes, but their far-reaching plans at this moment prevented them from intervening in the affairs of Bohemia. Torstensohn succeeded in joining the forces of Rakoczy before Vienna, but Austria was saved by the intervention of the Porte. The Ottoman Empire forced Rakoczy to come to terms with the Emperor by menacing him with an attack on Transylvania should he refuse to do so. In 1648 the last events of the Thirty Years' War took place at Prague—the city where the war had begun. A Swedish army under General Königsmark entered Bohemia, and by treachery obtained possession of the Mala Strana, the part of the town situated on the left bank of the Vltava. The repeated attempts of the

[1] These words were first used by Count Usedom, then Prussian minister in Florence, in 1866. He advised the Italian government to carry on the war against Austria as far as the Danube, where their forces could join those of Prussia, and then "frapper au cœur" the Austrian empire.

Swedes to obtain possession of the other parts of the city were, however, unsuccessful. The bridge of Prague was bravely defended by the numerous Jesuits and Capuchins who had established themselves in Bohemia. They were aided not only by the Imperial troops, but also by numerous German immigrants, and even by citizens of Prague who had recently joined the Roman Church and were more mindful of their new religion than of their ancient country.[1] The siege only terminated when the news of the peace of Westphalia reached Prague. The last warlike occurrences in that city, though very insignificant, had a very serious political consequence. The late Professor Rezek was the first to point out that the fact that Bohemians had themselves taken up arms against those who defended their religious liberty greatly weakened the case of those who at Münster and Osnabrück upheld the cause of the Bohemian Protestants.

The peace negotiations which had begun in 1643 only terminated at the end of the year 1648 by the treaty of Westphalia. It is here only necessary to mention that all attempts made in favour of the Bohemian exiles entirely failed. Though Ferdinand III was by the treaty of Westphalia obliged to make many concessions, he resolutely declared that they would continue the war rather than allow the presence of a single Protestant in Bohemia or Moravia. The slight privileges granted to the Protestants of Silesia were, however, confirmed.

The rapidly decreasing band of Bohemian patriots who through all turns of weal and woe had remained faithful to their national Church rightly saw in the treaty of Westphalia the ending of all their hopes. Komensky[2] has recorded their despair in his touching "Last will of that dying mother

[1] This episode, whose consequences were, as mentioned above, very important, has long filled with shame the minds of many Bohemian patriots. The somewhat servile pliancy, occasionally, though not often found among Bohemians, was acutely characterized by the Emperor Joseph II, no friend of Bohemia, but one of the most gifted princes of the house of Habsburg. When visiting Prague he was shown the church of St. Mary, erected on the White Mountain to celebrate the victory of the Romanists. The Emperor expressed great displeasure and said he wished to reign over men, not over brutes (in German "Bestien") who celebrated their own defeat.

[2] For a brief account of the career of Komensky (Comenius), the last bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, see my introduction to my translation of his *Labyrint Světa*) The Labyrinth of the World).

the unity of the (Bohemian) Brethren."[1] "I cannot," he writes, "oh Bohemian and Moravian nation, my dear country, forget thee now that I leave thee for ever." . . . "I believe before God that when this storm of wrath —which our sins have brought on us—has subsided, thou wilt, oh Bohemian people, again obtain the control over thy destiny." With that intense devotion to the national language which is so characteristic of the Bohemians, Komensky writes, "I leave to thee (the community of the Brethren) and thy sons the task of refining, purifying and developing the beloved graceful language of our ancestors, for the care which our sons devoted to this matter is known from the time when all sensible men said that there was no better Bohemian than that spoken by the Brethren and written by them in their books."[2]

There are few darker pages in the world's history than those in which the state of Bohemia after the Thirty Years' War is recorded. Almost every part of the country had been devastated during that war. Many towns and countless villages had been destroyed, and even at the present day many now deserted spots are known to have once been inhabited. The population of Bohemia, which at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War had exceeded 3,000,000, had dwindled to 800,000 at the end of that war. The country had suffered more during this war than even during the Hussite campaigns. The towns had lost the larger part of their population. Among the exiled Protestants had been almost all the prominent merchants and tradesmen, who now sought refuge in distant countries.[3] As of France after the edict of Nantes, it can be said of Bohemia after the Thirty Years' War that it suffered by the loss of its best citizens, in such a manner that it can even now hardly be said to have recovered. It is true that within the last generation national industry and commerce have again begun to flourish. Prague, recently the capital of a vast empire, after the treaty of Westphalia acquired the aspect of a provincial

[1] "Kšaft umirající matky jednoty bratrské."

[2] For the care devoted by the Bohemian Brethren to the development of the national language, see my *History of Bohemian Literature* (2. d.), pp. 295–298.

[3] It is only recently that Bohemian historians have made researches concerning these exiles who proceeded to Germany, England, the United States, and other countries.

town, and this continued throughout the eighteenth century.[1] The new nobility of Bohemia rarely visited Prague, and resided mainly in Vienna in the vicinity of the court. The new nobles, mostly men of modest and often mean birth who owed their fortune to the Thirty Years' War, were greatly attracted by the splendour of that court, which in splendour rivalled the court of Madrid. New titles were widely distributed among these men. The ancient nobility of Bohemia had been somewhat averse to the bearing of titles of duke, count, or baron, considering them as German dignities, and they had usually been merely described as "pan" (lord). The generals and courtiers who now replaced them naturally had no such repugnance. The fate of the Bohemian peasantry in the period subsequent to the peace of Westphalia was an unspeakably miserable one. Frequent insurrections, which were repressed with merciless cruelty, were the consequence. I rejoice that the extent of this book relieves me from the duty of giving a detailed account of the cruelties committed by an alien soldiery against almost unarmed peasants. In a petition which the peasants of the district of Časlav addressed to the Imperial authorities at Prague they stated that "their fate was worse than that of the slaves of the Tartars or Turks." It is but too true that there was a considerable amount of truth in their complaint. The agents whom the new Bohemian nobles—almost always absentees—entrusted with the control of their peasants were probably more cruel than the overseer of Russian moujiks or the slave-driver of the southern States in America. In Russia both master and man were generally Slavs and members of the orthodox Church; the southern slave-driver often treated his slaves with contemptuous good nature. But the agent of the German and Romanist nobles of Bohemia both hated and despised the peasants—who were Slavs, and often still secretly heretics. The Bohemian peasants have since the year 1848 enjoyed complete liberty, and the present organization of the village communities grants them overwhelming power—often to the detriment of

[1] In a curious letter written from Prague on November 7, 1716, Lady Mary Montague says that at Prague "there were some remains of its former splendour," but that it was "old built and thinly inhabited." Of the ladies she writes that they were dressed according to the fashions of Vienna, "after the manner that the people of Exeter imitate those of London."

the landowner. Yet the evil seed of hatred and distrust sown by the oppressors of the seventeenth and eighteenth century bears evil fruit up to the present day. Bohemian peasants even now instinctively distrust the nobles of their country, even if they belong to their own race, and are in full sympathy with the national cause. This antagonism has frequently contributed to the failure of the attempts of the Bohemians to recover their autonomy.

The wars and negotiations of the court of Vienna at the end of the seventeenth and during the eighteenth century cannot be considered as forming part of Bohemian history. Some large Bohemian landowners played a considerable part in the government of the empire, but their only connection with Bohemia consisted in the fact that they drew very large revenues from their estates situated in that country. Every trace of municipal self-government gradually disappeared both in the cities of Prague and in the other towns of the kingdom. The scanty contemporary references to the internal condition of Bohemia record only successfully repressed revolts of the peasantry, and occasional religious persecutions when it was believed that Protestants had secretly entered Bohemia. The extreme zeal of the Jesuits, who sometimes extended their persecutions to Silesia—where the Protestants possessed a limited amount of independence—occasionally directed the attention of Europe to the almost forgotten lands of the Bohemian crown. When King Charles XII of Sweden had defeated King Augustus of Poland and pursued his enemy to his hereditary Saxon electorate, he took up his quarters for a considerable time at Alt-Ranstädt near Leipzig. It was here brought to his notice that the Romanist priests had closed the churches in Silesia which the treaty of Westphalia had guaranteed to the Protestants. Charles, who was by inheritance a guarantor of the treaty of Westphalia, was very indignant at this breach of faith, and, impetuous as he always was, he immediately meditated on a march on Vienna. The envoys of the Austrian government who visited him, however, succeeded in pacifying him, and a treaty between Austria and Sweden was signed at Alt-Ranstädt, which assured to the Protestants of Silesia the preservation of their former privileges.

About the middle of the eighteenth century a great constitutional change affecting all the lands subject to the

house of Habsburg took place. Ferdinand III had in 1567 been succeeded as Roman Emperor by his son Leopold I, who had previously already been crowned as King of Bohemia. Leopold's successors were Joseph I, and after his short reign Leopold's second son Charles VI —or II—as King of Bohemia. Charles was a very worthy prince, quite devoid of the cruelty which had stained the reign of his father Leopold. A good father and husband he was, according to the spiteful description of Frederick the Great, not exempt from superstition.[1] As he was the last male representative of the house of Habsburg, the principal purpose of his life was to assure the succession to his throne to his daughter and to obtain general consent to the future indivisibility of the Habsburg domains. This had not always been the custom of that house. Thus Ferdinand I had divided his dominions among his three sons. In 1713, only two years after his accession, Charles issued a decree stating that in default of a male heir all the Habsburg dominions should devolve undivided, and according to primogeniture to his female descendants. In 1716 a son was born to the Emperor, but after his early death Charles again devoted his whole energy to the purpose of assuring the succession to his throne to his daughter Maria Theresa.

However absolutist the Habsburg rule was at this period it was yet considered necessary to obtain the consent of the Estates of Hungary, Bohemia, and even the so-called "hereditary lands," to this constitutional change. The matter was brought before the Estates of Bohemia in 1720. The "renewed ordinance of the land" had already established the hereditary right of the house of Habsburg in the female as well as in the male line. The new rule as to the succession to the throne, therefore, involved no change in Bohemia and the Estates retained their right of electing a king, should the Habsburg dynasty become extinct. The decree which declared the indivisibility of all the Habsburg dominions also found no opposition in an assembly consisting mainly of Imperial courtiers and generals. On October 16, 1720 the Estates of Bohemia unanimously accepted the Imperial decree, which after it had also been accepted by the German

[1] "Bon père, bon mari, mais bigot et superstitieux comme tous les princes de la maison d'Autriche." (*Frederic II Histoire de mon temps* tome I, p. 28, ed. 1788.)

Imperial Diet became known as the "pragmatic sanction." Charles VI, who had also obtained the recognition of the pragmatic sanction by all European powers, was at the moment of his death, in 1740, justified in believing that he had assured the succession to his daughter Maria Theresa, who had married Francis, Duke of Lorraine, and afterwards Grand Duke of Tuscany.

The Electors of Saxony and Bavaria,[1] however, who had both married daughters of the Emperor Joseph I, immediately refused to recognize Maria Theresa as Queen of Hungary and Bohemia. They were, in accordance with the traditional Bourbon policy, strongly supported by France, which believed that the extinction of the male line of the house of Habsburg would inevitably be followed by the complete ruin of that dynasty. The court of Spain, closely connected by relationship with that of France, also opposed Maria Theresa, who found in England her only ally. A considerable time was, however, required before these numerous countries, whose interests were in so many respects antagonistic, could determine on a joint action. Only one prince, acting quite independently, decided to strike immediately, and he alone eventually obtained great and permanent advantages by means of the Austrian war of succession.

Frederick II, King of Prussia, ascended the throne a very short time before the death of Charles VI, and—as he tells us in his *Histoire de mon temps*—he immediately determined to seize the opportunity which presented itself. Prussia had long coveted some parts of the lands of the Bohemian crown. A prince who, like Frederick, repeatedly expressed his contempt for the German language in very strong words could find no objection to the acquisition of lands in which a large part of the population did not speak the language. The Prussian sovereigns had to a certain extent favoured the Bohemian exiles who sought refuge in their state, and Bohemian books were printed at Berlin, at a time when it would have been impossible to do so at Prague. These facts had not been forgotten, and Frederick

[1] The claims of Bavaria were also founded on an older document, the testament of the Emperor Ferdinand I. The matter cannot be further discussed here, but it should be stated that the claims of the Elector of Bavaria on the Bohemian throne were not so entirely unfounded as has been stated by the court-historians of Vienna writing "to order."

found friends and secret sympathizers not only in Silesia, but also in Bohemia itself, when he afterwards invaded that country.[1] Though himself an agnostic, Frederick the Great was far too keen an observer not to have perceived how greatly the religious difficulties in the Habsburg dominions favoured his venturesome enterprise. The treaty of Westphalia had granted the Protestants of Silesia certain privileges, but the Jesuits constantly encroached on these privileges. After the treaty of Alt-Ranstädt and during the reign of Joseph I, the Protestants had remained unmolested, but during the last years of the rule of Charles VI—and with his tacit approval—the Protestants of Silesia had been forbidden to build schools, and their churches had been coverted into barracks. Prussia had also hereditary rights on parts of Silesia. The Margrave of Jägerndorf, a prince of the house of Hohenzollern, had been deprived of dominions at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, and Leopold I had in 1675 taken possession of the duchies of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlan after the death of the last Duke. Leopold declared the duchies to be vacant fiefs of the Bohemian crown, though a treaty concluded by a former Duke of Liegnitz assured the succession to the house of Hohenzollern. Though Frederick the Great did not omit to allude to his hereditary rights,[2] his principal motive for immediate action was probably the opportunity of the moment.

Charles VI died on October 20, 1740, and on the 13th of December of the same year Frederick and his army crossed the borders of Silesia while negotiations were still proceeding and without a formal declaration of war. It was customary among historians of the older school to denounce this act with a flood of virtuous indignation. It is certain that Prussia had adhered to the pragmatic sanction

[1] Carlyle with the intuition of genius seems to have grasped this fact though the extensive recent Bohemian literature on this subject was, of course, unknown to him. Thus he writes (under November 19, 1744) "This is the circle of Königgrätz, this that now lies to the rear; and happily there are a few Hussites in it not utterly indisposed to do little spying for us, and bring a glimmering glance of intelligence now and then." (*History of Frederick II of Prussia, commonly called Frederick the Great*, vol. viii. p. 56.)

[2] "Il resolut aussitot de revendiguer les principantés de la Silésie auxquelles sa maison avait des droits incontestables." (*Frederic II Histoire de mon temps*, tome I, p. 125, edit. 1788.)

but very recent events have proved that few statesmen attach much importance to treaties in the absence of an army sufficient to enforce their enactments. Since the times of Frederick the Great, Charles Albert of Sardinia in 1848, and the Japanese empire in 1904—to quote but two examples—have opened hostilities without a formal declaration of war. It is probable that in consequence of the exigencies of modern warfare this will in the future become more and more customary. Silesia fell an easy prey to Frederick. He immediately decreed that the Protestants should enjoy complete equality of rights, but that the Romanists should not be in any way molested. The Silesian Protestants enthusiastically welcomed the Prussian troops, and the Roman Catholics seeing that Frederick, whose agnosticism assured his impartiality, did not intend to pursue a policy of retaliation, soon found it advisable to accept the rule of Frederick. Only the Austrian government officials, and some members of the nobility who were closely connected with the court of Vienna, left Silesia. The country had but a small Austrian garrison, and with the exception of a few fortresses fell almost immediately into the hands of the King of Prussia, who, on January 3, 1741, made his solemn entry into Breslau. In the following spring the Austrians made an attempt to recover Silesia, but after a complete defeat at Mollwitz on April 16, they were obliged to retire into Moravia.

The armies of France, Saxony and Bavaria had meanwhile began to move against the Habsburg States. Frederick in a masterly diplomatic campaign, which has perhaps only been rivalled by his countryman Bismarck, proved that he had no wish to establish a French hegemony in Germany in succession to the Austrian one, or to increase largely the power of Saxony—Prussia's old rival. He therefore chose this moment for concluding an armistice with Maria Theresa. Under the mediation of England a treaty was signed at Klein Schnellendorf on October 9, 1741, by which Lower Silesia and some smaller districts were ceded to Frederick. The agreement was insincere on the part of both contractors. Frederick was determined, should the enemies of Maria Theresa prove successful, to secure the whole of Silesia and perhaps other parts of the lands of the Bohemian crown as his share of the spoils. The Queen of Bohemia and Hungary had firmly resolved, should her armies be

victorious, to drive the Prussians out of Silesia. As was under these circumstances inevitable, the truce was of very short duration.

In the autumn of the year 1741 the armies of France, Bavaria and Saxony entered Bohemia from various directions. Their armies joined before Prague and took the town by assault on November 26. The Elector of Bavaria immediately assumed the title of the King of Bohemia and was solemnly crowned by the Archbishop of Prague in St. Vitus's cathedral on December 19. A general meeting of the Estates also took place and members of most of the families of the Bohemian nobility, such as Černin, Kolovrat, Kinský, Lützow, Lažanský, Waldstein and many others did homage to their new king. On this occasion great festivities took place at Prague, and the contemporary records of them are not dissimilar to those which describe the festivals on the accession of the equally ill-fated Frederick of the Palatinate. The new king—Charles III, as King of Bohemia—soon after his coronation at Prague left Bohemia and proceeded to Frankfurt. He was here elected German Emperor and assumed the title of Charles VII.

Almost from the moment that Charles had been crowned as Emperor, his armies and those of his allies were unsuccessful, and Maria Theresa, principally through the aid of the Hungarians, was able to recover part of the lands which she claimed. King Frederick of Prussia, feeling that the Austrian victories might endanger his possession of Silesia, determined to end the short-lived armistice which he had concluded with Maria Theresa. He entered the county of Glatz, then an integral part of the kingdom of Bohemia, and took Glatz, the capital of the county, by assault. From here he marched through Eastern Bohemia to Moravia, and joined the Saxon forces there. Saxony was at that moment already more suspicious of Prussia than of Austria—with which country it soon afterwards concluded a treaty of peace that was at a short interval followed by an alliance between the two countries. Seeing that no advantage could be obtained by the junction with the Saxons, Frederick returned to Eastern Bohemia, where he obtained a signal victory over the Austrian forces under the Duke of Lorraine, at Chotusic, near Časlav. Maria Theresa, still menaced by numerous enemies, again decided to free herself from the one who appeared most dangerous. After preliminary negotiations

at Breslau, a treaty between Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa was signed at Berlin, which ceded to Prussia the county of Glatz and the whole of Silesia, with the exception of the duchies of Teschen, Jägerndorf and Troppau. A third of the lands of the Bohemian crown thus became subject to the house of Hohenzollern.

Frederick the Great, who knew perhaps better than his Austrian antagonists that even after the constitutional revolution of 1627 the Estates of Bohemia still possessed a certain legislative power, demanded that the treaty of Berlin should declare that all lands belonging to Prussia, which had been held as fiefs of the Bohemian crown, should be freed from that dependence, and that the Estates of Bohemia should give their consent to the cession to Prussia of the lands that had formerly belonged to the Bohemian crown. On July 16, 1743, the Bohemian Diet gave its sanction to these cessions, and it could hardly have acted differently.[1] The fact is none the less important for the constitutional history of Bohemia.

As will be mentioned presently, peace between Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa was again of short duration. Principally in consequence of the aid she had obtained from Hungary, Maria Theresa was everywhere victorious. The Saxons, giving up all their former claims, had concluded an alliance with the Queen of Hungary. Prague, however, was still occupied by a large French garrison which held the town for Charles of Bavaria. The troops of Maria Theresa besieged the city, and Marshal Belleisle, who commanded the French garrison, cut off from all communications with his own country, was in a desperate position. He, however,

[1] The two paragraphs of the treaty of Berlin which were read to the Estates of Bohemia, and were sanctioned by them, ran thus—

Article XI. S.M. la Reine de Hongrie et de Bohême renonce tant pour elle et pour ses heritiers et successeurs à perpétuité et fera renoncer après la pacification les états du Royaume de Bohême à tout droit de relief, que la couronne de Bohême a exercé jusqu à présent sur plusieurs états villes et districts appartenant anciennement à la maison electorale de Brandenbourg, de quelque nom, condition ou nature qu'ils puissant être, de sorte qu'ils reseront jamais plus regardés à l'avenir comme fiefs de la couronne de Bohême, mais censés et declarés libres de cette mouvance.

Article XII. Sa Majesté la Reine de Hongrie et de Bohême s'engage et promet d'obliger les états de Bohême après la pacification de donner un acte de renonciation à tous les états dépendans autrefois de la couronne de Bohême cédés par la présente paix à Sa Majesté le roy de Prusse avec toute la souveraineté et l'indépendance de la susdite couronne. (Kalousek, *České Státní Právo* (the Bohemian Constitution), p. 631.)

succeeded in retiring to Cheb (Eger) after a difficult and perilous march across Bohemia in mid-winter. A small French garrison under Chevet, which for a time remained in Prague, was finally obliged to capitulate, but as the French general threatened to blow up the town, together with his own positions within it, he obtained favourable conditions. He was allowed to retire with his forces to Cheb and secured the promise of an amnesty for the adherents of Charles VII—a promise that was not kept by the Austrian authorities. On September 7, 1743, the French evacuated Cheb, the last Bohemian town that had remained in their possession.

Even before that date Maria Theresa determined to visit Bohemia. She well knew the great importance which Bohemians attach to the coronation of their sovereigns, and she was therefore crowned at Prague on May 11. The Queen declared the capitulation signed on Chevet's departure to be invalid, and a considerable number of Bohemian noblemen and citizens were arrested. The principal adherents of King Charles were severely punished, but it is uncertain whether any capital executions took place. Maria Theresa's experiences at the beginning of her reign in Bohemia undoubtedly influenced her mind against the inhabitants of that country, which she always somewhat neglected in favour of her beloved Viennese. This dislike to the Bohemians can be traced in all the new regulations and enactments which the Queen published during the later years of her reign. During her short stay at Prague the Queen received the news of great victories of her armies. After driving the enemy from Lower and Upper Austria the — mainly Hungarian — forces of Maria Theresa had victoriously occupied Munich and the whole of Bavaria. Charles VII had sought refuge in Frankfurt, and the French troops were gradually retiring across the Rhine. Frederick the Great thought a new intervention on his part necessary. He had never wished to increase the French influence in Germany nor to render assistance to the dynastic ambition of Bavaria or Saxony, but he rightly thought if the series of Austrian victories continued, that country might endeavour to regain Silesia also. When therefore Charles VII appealed to Prussia for help, Frederick concluded a treaty with him by which he promised to assist him in recovering the kingdom of Bohemia, while the Emperor promised to cede to Prussia the part of the kingdom situated on the right

bank of the Elbe—a plan with which we here meet for the first, but by no means for the last time in the annals of Prussian politics. Frederick's action was as rapid as it always was. Crossing through the territory of Saxony, that was now allied with Austria, Frederick entered Bohemia on August 15, 1744, declaring that he appeared there to re-establish the rule of the legitimate sovereign, Charles VII. He occupied Prague after a short resistance and then marched into Southern Bohemia, perhaps intending to menace Vienna. The Austrian armies, that had been engaged in a campaign against France, near the Rhine, were, however, now recalled, and Frederick's position in Bohemia became a dangerous one. He was also threatened in his rear by a Saxon army. Frederic therefore determined to evacuate Prague and to retire into Silesia through the North-eastern districts of Bohemia. He successfully accomplished this difficult task, not without the aid of the secretly Hussite peasants of Bohemia, who sympathized with Prussia. The war between Frederick the Great and the allied forces of Austria and Saxony still continued for some time, but after Frederick's victories at Hohenfriedberg and Kesselstadt a treaty of peace was signed at Dresden on December 25, 1745. Its contents were similar to those of the treaty of Berlin. Prussia retained possession of the greatest part of Silesia and of the county of Glatz.

Almost immediately after the treaty of peace, Maria Theresa—who became Empress when her husband, Charles of Lorraine, was, after the death of Charles VII, chosen as Emperor—decided to reorganize and centralize the administration of the states over which she ruled. To the great autonomy and independence which some of these lands still possessed, she largely attributed the troubles which had marked the beginning of her reign. These constitutional changes were, however, necessarily delayed by the outbreak of the Seven Years' War.

Though the results of the Seven Years' War affected Bohemia very little, as at its close the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin remained unchanged, yet as this war was, particularly in the two first years, fought principally on Bohemian soil, it cannot remain quite unmentioned here. In 1756 Frederick the Great, having received information that a large coalition of the European powers against him was being formed, determined, with his habitual resolution

to anticipate his enemies. On August 26, 1756, the Prussian army entered Saxony, where it met with no resistance, as the Saxon army retired to a strongly fortified position between Pirna and Königstein. They here awaited the arrival of their Austrian allies; but Frederick, entering Bohemia, defeated the Austrians at Lovosic, and then, returning to Saxony, forced the Saxon army to capitulate. In the following spring he again attacked Bohemia, and, marching on its capital, won the famed "Battle of Prague," which was really fought at the village of Stěrbohol, five miles from the city. The Austrians hastily retired to Prague. Frederick besieged and bombarded the town, but the Austrian victory at Kolin obliged him to raise the siege. Frederick then marched westward to encounter the French armies, and the Austrians availed themselves of his absence to invade Silesia. Aided by the Roman Catholic part of the population they obtained possession of a considerable part of the country, including Breslau. Frederick's brilliant victory at Leuthen, on December 5, 1575, obliged the Austrians again to evacuate Silesia. During the later period of the Seven Years' War only outlying districts of Bohemia were on rare occasions the scene of a war that was mostly waged in Germany. The peace of Hubertsburg, which in 1763 ended the war, confirmed the Prussian conquest of Silesia and the county of Glatz.

The return of peace enabled the Empress Maria Theresa to carry out the plans she had previously formed of reorganizing the vast Habsburg dominions. Even during the reign of Charles VI, the Empress's father, these various racially and historically distinct countries were, to a great extent, governed according to their ancient laws and traditions. Beside the high officials of Prague, no longer indeed elected by the Estates, but appointed by the Austrian Government, Bohemia was administered by the "Bohemian secret court chancellery" (Böheimische Geheime Ho Kanzlei). The financial affairs of the lands of the Bohemian crown were under the direction of a council (Haup Commission derer drey Böheimischen Landen in cameral isticis). A supreme law-court (Obriste Justiz Stelle i Böhemicis) was the highest tribunal for Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.[1] Though these three ministries, as we may cal

[1] After the signature of the Treaty of Berlin in 1742 the ter "Silesia" of course only refers to those parts of the country—th

them, all had their offices in Vienna, their sphere was entirely limited to the Bohemian lands. Other officials were charged with the administration of Flanders, Milan, Hungary, Transylvania, and the so-called German hereditary dominions of the House of Habsburg. This system of government was undoubtedly a complicated one, but it was certainly in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the population of states between whom the dynasty formed the only genuine connecting link. Maria Theresa, however, as already mentioned, attributed the failures of the Austrian armies at the beginning of her reign to the autonomy which the Austrian Netherlands, Hungary, and to a limited extent Bohemia also still possessed. The equipment of the armies was, to a certain extent, still dependent on the grants of money made by the different Estates. As the events during the reign of Maria Theresa's son afterwards proved, it was dangerous to encroach on the liberties of Hungary and of the Netherlands. The councillors of Maria Theresa, therefore, determined first to devote their attention to Bohemia. Of the Empress Maria Theresa it can be truly said that she was the creator of what is now usually, though not officially, called "Cisleithania," a term which describes the non-Hungarian parts of the Habsburg domains. An imperial decree in 1749 abolished the separate law courts of Bohemia and Austria (*i. e.* the hereditary lands of the House of Habsburg) and established at Vienna a central tribunal for all the Bohemian and Austrian territories. Somewhat later the administration of the two previously separate countries was also united, and a common chancellor for Bohemia and Austria was placed at its head. At Prague also the authority of the Estates was still further limited, and the custom that the State officials, though appointed by the Government of Vienna, were chosen among the Bohemians, fell into desuetude. These administrative changes, which all tended to place Bohemia in closer dependence on Vienna, continued with increasing energy during the reign of Maria Theresa and her son Joseph, who in the year 1765 became her co-regent. An important measure which imperilled the national language even more than the decrees published after the battle of the White Mountain, was the new system of education which was introduced by Joseph II. He

Duchies of Jägerndorf, Teschen and Troppau—which continued to belong to Austria.

founded a large number of new schools, in all of which—even in the village schools of the lowest category—the teaching was to be exclusively in the German language. This decree, whose brutality is perhaps only equalled by the recent Prussian school-regulations in Posen, deprived the wretched Bohemian peasants even of the consolations of religion; for the religious instruction also was to be given in German to children, few of whom knew any language but their own. It should be stated to the honour of the Bohemian priesthood that they, in those districts where German was totally unknown, generally disregarded the imperial decree. About the same time a new regulation decreed that the German language should in future be exclusively used in all, even the lowest law courts in the Bohemian lands. The many Bohemians who, particularly in country districts, had no knowledge of German, were thus exposed to constant vexations and frauds.

While the new regulations of Maria Theresa had been without exception injurious to Bohemia, the more extensive and more far-reaching plans of her son Joseph II, who, after her death in 1780 succeeded her as King of Bohemia and Hungary, included some reforms that were very favourable to Bohemia. Among these the most important was the abolition of the system of serfdom, which still oppressed the Bohemian peasants. This great reform was carried out in the first year of Joseph's rule, who on this occasion still acted in accordance with the Diet of Bohemia. In the later years of his reign Joseph entirely suppressed these meetings of the Estates. Though the peasantry of Bohemia even now did not obtain complete freedom—this was only granted them in 1848—their state was greatly improved by this reform.

Of Joseph's policy generally it can be said that it was founded on the conception of "enlightened despotism" which Frederick the Great's example had rendered fashionable among the sovereigns of the eighteenth century. He determined to consolidate the wide and variegated lands over which he ruled into one vast monarchy, whose only language was to be the German one. The historical traditions of Hungary and Bohemia Joseph treated with unconcealed contempt. Thus he had planned to turn the time-honoured palace of the Bohemian kings, on the Hradčany at Prague, into barracks. Joseph was entirely free from the ultra-

clerical tendency that has been so harmful to many princes of his line. He proved this by issuing in 1781, the first year in which he became sole ruler, the famed "decree of tolerance" (Toleranz Patent). This decree granted full freedom to the "Helvetic and Augsburg Confessions," a description which included Lutherans and Calvinists. All other Christian creeds, even the unity of the Bohemian Brethren, which had in the last years before the battle of the White Mountain almost become the national Church, were excluded. Fearing that this unexpected amount of liberty, granted so suddenly, might lead to disorders, very draconic laws were issued against other "sectarians."[1] Still the "Toleranz Patent" was an enlightened measure for which the people of Bohemia—many of whom had secretly remained Protestants—were very grateful to their otherwise unpopular ruler.

It was also in accordance with the traditional policy of the enlightened despots of the eighteenth century that Joseph II relaxed to a certain extent the extreme coercive regulations which had hitherto rendered impossible in the Habsburg dominions the appearance of any newspaper or book that was not published—directly or indirectly—by order of the Government. Thus Joseph allowed the publication in Prague of a paper in the national language, though such a permission has, since his time, frequently been refused by the Austrian ministers. It was only a consequence of this comparative freedom that new editions of ancient Bohemian works, and translations from foreign languages into the national one now began to appear. It was also during the reign of Joseph II that the Bohemian Society of Sciences was founded, and professorships of the Bohemian language were established at the university of Vienna, and somewhat later at that of Prague. As the existence of Bohemia as an autonomous country may be said to stand and fall with that of the national language, the policy of Joseph II—certainly very much against the wishes of its

[1] We read that a sect sprang up in Bohemia calling itself "deists," who appear to have been connected with free-masonry. Dr. Svátek, in his *Cultur Historische Bilder*, quotes a curious decree published against these people. It states: "Should any man or woman declare themselves to be 'deists,' they shall immediately and without previous cross-examination receive twenty-four strokes with a stick or birchrod, as a warning, and then be sent back to their homes."

originator—prepared the way for the revival of the Bohemian language in the following century.

The so-called reforms of Joseph II ended in a complete failure. The population of the Austrian Netherlands rose in arms against the Government, and that of Hungary was on the point of doing so when, on the death of Joseph at the beginning of the year 1790, his successor, Leopold II, withdrew almost all the reforms of his brother. In Bohemia also there had been great discontent, but the disunited people was incapable of action. The nobles had become mere courtiers, the citizens were powerless and servile, and the peasants, of all Joseph's reforms, were interested only in the agricultural measures, that had undoubtedly improved their condition.

During his short reign Leopold II endeavoured to conciliate the different nationalities whom the hasty and headlong policy of his brother and predecessor had deeply offended. Only a few weeks after the death of Joseph, Leopold assembled the estates of Bohemia who during the later years of the reign of Joseph had never been allowed to meet. He also ordered the Bohemian crown, which by order of Joseph had been transported to Vienna, to be restored to Prague, and he was crowned with it at St. Vitus's Cathedral on September 6, 1791. Leopold II died after a reign of only two years.

The earlier part of the reign of his son and successor Francis I, which concludes the period from 1792–1815, was almost entirely absorbed by the prolonged and obstinate contest of the house of Habsburg with revolutionary France. In consequence of this struggle Francis became, and continued during his long life, a bitter enemy of all liberal and progressive ideas, and indeed of all changes. He was at the beginning of his reign crowned at Prague as King of Bohemia, and received a deputation of the Estates, who begged that a small part of the former autonomy should be restored to their country. The Emperor, who was during his whole life influenced by his dread of the French revolution replied by a decree which merely stated that all administrative changes in Bohemia must be postponed till the termination of the foreign wars. The almost uninterrupted series of wars with France was with few exceptions[1] waged outsid

[1] In 1813 a French army under Marshal Vandamme crossed th

of the frontiers of Bohemia. The country which gave to the empire its best and most numerous soldiers none the less suffered grievously, and the hopeless state of the Austrian finances caused the complete ruin of a considerable part of the population of Bohemia.

During the whole revolutionary period absolute internal tranquillity prevailed in Bohemia, as in other parts of the Habsburg empire. The reactionary ministers of other countries regarded with envy the conditions of these countries where all expressions of liberal opinion could be entirely and successfully suppressed. Austrian ministers also, as Baron Helfert has well said,[1] never even appear to have taken into consideration the possibility that the desire for liberal laws and institutions which showed itself so strongly in neighbouring countries might finally manifest itself in a very vehement manner in the Habsburg dominions also. Two important constitutional changes in Bohemia belong to this period. In 1804 Francis I assumed the hereditary title of Emperor of Austria. It was however declared that he would continue to bear the titles of King of Bohemia and Hungary, and that his successors would as heretofore continue to be crowned as kings of those countries. In 1815 the Germanic confederacy began its inglorious career which ended only in 1866. Not only the German hereditary lands of the house of Habsburg, but also Bohemia with Moravia and (Austrian) Silesia were included in this confederacy. It was not considered necessary to submit this important constitutional innovation to the Diet or meeting of the Estates of Bohemia. There was indeed no danger that that body, then entirely lacking independence and initiative, would venture to criticize, far less reject, any measure brought before it by the government, but it was in accordance with the policy then pursued at Vienna to suppress all semblance of representative government.

The administration of the Habsburg dominions—with the exception of Hungary—was founded on a system of severest absolutism during the years that followed the general pacification of 1815. The liberty of the subject became entirely dependent on the arbitrariness of an omnipotent police. Countless government spies watched over even the most

Bohemian frontier after the battle of Dresden. It was however defeated at Kulm by the Russian and Austrian armies.

[1] In his *Geschichte der oesterreichischen Revolution*, vol i. p. 5.

insignificant acts of the citizens. A double system of "censure," one political, the other ecclesiastical,[1] rendered it impossible to express in print any opinions that were not in strict accordance with the views of the government of Vienna.

While the despotism of Vienna pressed heavily on all parts of the empire, its oppression was felt more heavily in Bohemia than elsewhere; for not only were individuals deprived of all liberty, but the national language—so sacred to all Bohemians—was excluded from every school, law-court, or government office in the country. The fact that in spite of all these and of other obstacles the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed a revival of the Bohemian language is an almost unique one. This event is mainly due to a small group of literary men of whom Jungmann, Kolár, Šafařík, and Palacký[2] were the most prominent. They obtained the support of the more enlightened members of the Bohemian nobility. As the Austrian police had at that time the power of expelling from any town those who were not either resident there or able to prove that they had sufficient means of livelihood, the patriots who were poor, and some of whom had come to Prague from other parts of the empire, were exposed to constant persecution on the part of the police. Several patriotic noblemen assured the safety of the young enthusiasts by conferring on them appointments as librarians or tutors in their families. Palacký himself was appointed "historiographer to the Estates of Bohemia," an appointment to which the government of Vienna after much delay at last gave a reluctant consent. The development of the national language was greatly furthered by the foundation in 1818 of the "Society of the Bohemian Museum." In this museum many ancient monuments of the period of Bohemia's greatness were collected. Many historical MSS. of great value also found a place in it and were afterwards printed by the Matice[3] Česká, a society founded in connection with the museum. The foundation of the museum was mainly due to the efforts of Counts Sternberg and Kolovrat, the latter of whom

[1] For a short account of the Austrian system of "censure" see my *History of Bohemian Literature*, particularly p. 396–397 (2nd ed.).

[2] For a brief account of the career of these four men see chapter VI of my *History of Bohemian Literature*.

[3] In Bohemian, "treasury."

held high office in the government of Vienna and was therefore able to overcome the resistance which that government always opposed to all Bohemian enterprise. Many Bohemian nobles of the Klebelsberg, Kinský, Černin, Thun, Lützow, Waldstein, Wratislaw families immediately joined the new association. The acquaintance with the ancient history of their country contributed largely to revive the patriotism of the people. Many ancient songs were rediscovered, and—as happens so easily in a musical country—new ones treating of the old and glorious time of Bohemia were improvised and were soon in the mouths of all.

It is not my purpose to repeat here what I have previously written on the revival of the Bohemian language and literature. One point, however, deserves notice. The Germans were at that time free from that racial hatred of the Slav which has lately been so prominent. The great Göthe became a member of the Society of the Bohemian Museum. German poets rivalled the Bohemians themselves in celebrating the ancient glories of the nation.[1] It may, however, be suggested that this fairness was founded on the supposition that Bohemia, as a political individuality, was dead for ever; the fact is none the less noteworthy.

About the year 1840 we perceive the beginning of a political activity in Bohemia. It appeared at first only among the Estates, as indeed there only a semblance of independence still existed. After the end of the Napoleonic

[1] Thus the poet Meissner, a German who resided in Bohemia, describes the Bohemians of the Hussite time in these words:

"Ja eines grossen Volcks! Du fremdes Blut
Du kannst es freilich nicht in Liedern lesen
Wie gross dies Volck in alter Zeit, wie gut
Wie martyrheilig es im Tod gewesen
Kein Dichterherz hat solchen hohen Tag
Dass kund er's thäte ganz, wie du gelitten
Wie du da rings die Welt im Schlummer lag
Hochherz'ges Böhmen für das Licht gestritten.
Das weiss nur der den diese Flur gebar
Der diese heil'ge Scholle früh getreten . . ."

Lenau, a German poet of Hungarian origin, describing the Hussites as early fighters for freedom writes:

"Denn es wird in späten Tagen
Unseren Leid und Kampfgenossen
Stärkend aus Hussitengräbern
Trost und grüner Muth entsprossen."

It would be easy to quote many other examples.

wars the Diets or meetings of the Estates again took place These meetings had however become a mere formality The governor ("high burgrave") stated what sums the government required and these were immediately and unanimously voted without debate. It had become proverbial to describe a dull party as having been "as quiet as a meeting of the Estates."[1] When the Emperor Ferdinand in 1835 succeeded his father Francis the meetings of the Diet took place somewhat more frequently, and were after a time less insignificant. An unimportant circumstance pro duced the first note of opposition. In 1845 Count Chotek then governor, disposed of a house at Prague, the property of the Estates, without waiting for the mere formality of asking their consent. Count Frederick Deym, a strong nationalis who had begun to be known as the "Bohemian O'Connell," strongly protested against this arbitrary act. Coun Chotek was recalled mainly through the influence of Cou Kolovrat who, himself a Bohemian, sympathised with th Bohemians as far as his official position as Austrian ministe permitted. Henceforth, however, the claim of the Bohemia Estates to exercise some control over the finances of thei country became ever more pressing. At the meeting of th Diet in 1845 Count Frederick Deym proposed "that th Estates should appoint a committee which was to determin in what efficient but respectful manner they could defen their menaced rights and privileges." In 1847 the Die again met. The committee mentioned above had drawn u a statement declaring that the constitution of 1627 had sti left the Estates considerable powers. They still, it wa maintained, had the right of electing their king should th Habsburg dynasty become extinct both in the male an female line. The document further asserted the exclusiv right of the Estates to levy taxes in Bohemia, and declare that if the Estates voted no taxes, none could be raised i the kingdom of Bohemia. This document gave rise to very animated debate that lasted from the 3rd to the 11th May. The hall at the Hradčany castle in which the mee ings of the Estates took place had by no means its usu somnolent appearance. Some of the members ventured defend the absolutist policy of the government of Vienn Among them was Joseph Müller, mayor (starosta) of Pragu who, according to the then existing regulations, was

[1] Baron Helfert Die oesterreichische Revolution.

nominee of the government of Vienna. Count Bouquoi interrupted him by saying: "You are servile by your origin, servile by your education, servile by your official position; nothing else could be expected of you." This occurrence undoubtedly constitutes one of history's little ironies; for at the present time the liberal papers of Bohemia—perhaps generalizing rather unfairly—accuse the nobility of servility, while the present mayor of Prague is a strong upholder of the autonomy and nationality of Bohemia. The declaration proposed by the committee was finally voted by a large majority, and the members of the Diet before separating resolved that at their next meeting—which would, it was supposed, take place in 1848—they would petition the Austrian government to consent to the increase of the number of town-representatives at the Diets, to grant the Estates full control over the road-making in the kingdom, and to allow the introduction of the national language in the schools. In consequence of the events of 1848 this meeting of the estates never took place.

The beginning of the year 1848 was in Bohemia, as in almost all continental Europe, marked by a revolutionary outbreak. After the total failure of this movement it, particularly in Bohemia, for a long time became fashionable to overwhelm the idealistic and unpractical reformers with a torrent of virulent abuse and cheap derision. Now that the events of the "year of revolution" have risen from the level of contemporary controversy to the calm heights of history, the judgment of many will probably be different; they will think that these strivers who heedless of all difficulties and dangers attempted to establish "government of the people, by the people, for the people" undertook no ignoble task.

It has already been mentioned that since the year 1840, the formerly somnolent Estates had shown some tendency to opposition. This attitude at first but slightly interested the Bohemian people. The aloofness which to a great extent separates the Bohemian nobility from the other classes of the population caused the citizens—very unjustly, it must be admitted—to believe that the nobles were only endeavouring to obtain for themselves further favours from the government of Vienna. It was only the talented young journalist, Charles Havliček (or "Havel Borovsky") who drew the attention of the public to the attitude of opposition

taken up by members of that class which had been con sidered unconditionally devoted to the government c Vienna. Havliček's paper, the "Prazské Noviny" ("new of Prague") attacked the Austrian Government with grea ingenuity. As the "censor-office" prohibited all allusion to the internal affairs of Bohemia, Havliček published in th form of reports on the condition of Ireland sharp criticism on the government of his own country. Thus originate the comparison between Ireland and Bohemia which ha since become one of the commonplaces of political con troversy.

It was also with reference to Ireland that a patriotic association in Bohemia, formed shortly before the year 184 assumed the name of "repeal." Sometime before th beginning of the year 1848, the impressionable Bohemian believed that that year would be of great importance t their country. It was pointed out that in that year occurre the fifth centenary anniversary of the foundation of th university and of the "new town" of Prague. Even th fact that the spring of that year was an early and very fin one was interpreted in a mystical manner. The actua outbreak of the liberal movement in Prague, as elsewhere only occurred when the news of the revolution in Par arrived. The news reached Prague on February 29, and o March 11, a large popular meeting in the hall of th so-called "baths of St. Venceslas" took place under th direction of the "repeal" society. It was presided over b Dr. Aloysius Trojan, afterwards a well-known member of th parliaments of Prague and Vienna. The assembly resolve to elect a committee comprising members of all classes o the population, who were to present to the Emperor th demands of the Bohemian people. These were formulate in fourteen articles. The principal requests were that th national language be granted complete equality wit German, that the detestable system of "censure" b abolished, that Moravia and (Austrian) Silesia be agai joined to Bohemia as being lands of the Bohemian crow and that a thorough reform of the land-laws should alleviat the distress of the Bohemian peasantry. The first deputa tion which presented these demands in Vienna obtained n result, as the court was then entirely absorbed by the rev lutionary movement that had just broken out in Vienna. second deputation which proceeded there somewhat later w

more successful. It brought back the Emperor's answer in the shape of a letter addressed by him to Baron Pillersdorf, then head of the Austrian government.[1] It was stated in this important document that the Emperor would shortly convoke a Bohemian Diet in which not only the nobility and clergy but also the towns and country districts would be adequately represented. The Emperor would grant this assembly full legislative power. He further promised that the Bohemian language should in future enjoy complete equality with the German one, and that the demands of the Bohemians with regard to freedom of the press and personal liberty would be granted. The claim of the landowners to demand forced labour ("robota") from the peasants on their estates was abolished and the landowners were to receive an indemnity. The right of lower jurisdiction possessed by the owners of certain large estates (velkostátky) that could then only be held by nobles was abolished. With regard to the reunion of Moravia and Silesia to Bohemia, the matter was to be left to the decision of a general assembly of representatives of all parts of the Habsburg dominions. This Imperial decree was enthusiastically received at Prague, and the elections to the new Diet, which would practically have had the character of a constituent assembly, took place shortly afterwards. This Bohemian parliament, however, never met.

The events in Bohemia are at this moment so closely connected with those in Germany that it is necessary to refer briefly to the condition of Germany at the beginning of the year 1848. The only link between the numerous German states had hitherto consisted in a meeting of representatives of all the states which formed part of the confederacy. This assembly which met at Frankfurt under the presidency of Austria had long become intensely unpopular. All Germans complained that no work, except the occasional passing of reactionary measures, was done by the worthy diplomatists, who met at Frankfurt. In consequence of the revolutionary movement of the year 1848, the German Governments found themselves obliged to give their reluctant consent to the meeting of a national parliament at Frankfurt, at which all countries forming part of the Germanic confederacy—

[1] This document, dated April 8, 1848, which is of great importance for the constitutional development of Bohemia, is printed by Kalousek, p. 640–642.

therefore Bohemia also—were to be represented. Before this parliament met it was settled that fifty prominent men belonging to all parts of Germany should meet to deliberate on the organization of the new parliamentary assembly. It was agreed that six of these men should be chosen among the subjects of the house of Habsburg, and the historian Palacký was invited to take part in the deliberations as one of their number. Palacký, on April 11, replied to this proposal in a letter that remained, and indeed still is, famous in Bohemia. He wrote: "I am not a German but a Bohemian, belonging to the Slav race. Whatever talent I may possess is at the service of my own country. My nation is certainly a small one, but it has always maintained its historical individuality. The rulers of Bohemia have often been on terms of intimacy with the German princes, but the Bohemian people have never considered themselves as Germans." These eloquent words of Palacky, who now became, and continued to the end of his life, the leader of the Bohemian people, found a general echo in the country. Only a few representatives of Germanized districts of Bohemia took part in the deliberations of the German parliament at Frankfurt.

The meeting of this assembly was, however, one of the causes of an event that had a large and disastrous influence on the future of Bohemia. I refer to the Slavic congress at Prague. The fact that Germans from all parts of the country had, though they were subjects of various rulers, met in one large assembly naturally suggested to the Slavs of Austria, and particularly of Bohemia, the idea of meeting in one great assembly. The men who undertook to organize this assembly were by no means enemies of the Habsburg dynasty. The fact that numerous members of the Bohemian nobility, which since the time of Maria Theresa has been traditionally loyal, took part in the proceedings bears sufficient witness to this. On April 30, a considerable number of Slavic politicians—here also following the example of Germany—met at a preliminary conference to discuss the conditions under which a Slavic congress could be held. It was decided to invite representatives of all the Slavs who were under the rule of the house of Habsburg, but to admit as guests all who belonged to the Slavic race.

The plan of the Slavic leaders placed the government of Vienna in a very difficult position. The Hungarian

government which was at that moment, as in the present day, almost independent of Vienna, raised an energetic protest against the meeting of any assembly, at which the Slavs of Hungary should be represented. The attitude of the German and liberal cabinet which had taken office in Vienna in March was one of hatred and fear of the Hungarians, of hatred and contempt of the Slavs. The cabinet of Vienna was, however, entirely powerless, as several government officials and generals, of whom Prince Windischgrätz—who at this moment became commander of the Imperial forces in Bohemia—was the most important, had already planned a return to the former absolutist system of government. In spite of the dangers that threatened them, the Bohemian patriots determined to hold their congress. About the end of May numerous Slavs from all countries began to arrive at Prague. The principal leaders met at the house of Baron Neuberg, an ardent patriot, on May 27 and 28.[1] The meeting had by no means a revolutionary character. Count Leo Thun, who was at that moment at the head of the government (Zemský president) acted as chairman. Most of the Bohemian patriots were present as well as several Servian guests, among whom was General Zach, who afterwards became known as leader of the Servian armies. On May 30 numerous other patriots arrived from the country districts of Bohemia, from Croatia, Servia, Poland, Moravia, and the Slavic parts of Hungary. They were received with great enthusiasm by the National Guard, which in Prague, as in most continental cities, had been formed in the revolutionary year. At a meeting which took place at the National Museum[2] on June 1, Palacký was elected president of the congress, and on the following day, after a solemn mass at the Týn church, the first general assembly took place on the Sophia island. From the first moment, however, dark clouds, as Tomek writes, appeared on the horizon. Though the Russian Government had forbidden its

[1] Tomek Paméty zroku 1848 (Memoirs of the year 1848). Professor Tomek took a considerable part in the events at Prague in 1848.

[2] The large building which now contains the collections of the National Museum had not then been erected; they were then housed in a building on the Pfikop, the principal street of Prague. See my *Prague*.

subjects to attend the congress, several Russian revolutionists of a very advanced school were present. Here as so often before and since that time, the extremists proved the worst enemies of liberty's true friends. On the other hand, the attitude of the troops at Prague was a menacing one from the beginning of the congress. On June 5, Prince Windischgrätz, commander of the garrison of Prague, held a great review. The soldiers, all alien to Bohemia, already professed an intense hatred of the citizens and particularly of the students. It also appears that here, as on so many occasions, the Austrian Government employed the evil services of secret agents.[1] Prince Windischgrätz's political views were well known. He had almost alone, when even Prince Matternich's colleague Count Kolovrat declared the ancient chancellor's demission necessary, expressed the wish that Metternich should retain office and that the garrison of Vienna should immediately attack the people. The reception of Windischgrätz on the occasion of this review when he was greeted with enthusiasm by his soldiers had almost the character of a pronunciamento. On the following day Windischgrätz ordered to Prague the garrisons of all the smaller towns of Bohemia. The conflicts between the soldiers and the people daily became more frequent.

The Slavic congress had meanwhile continued its deliberations. Several committees had been elected which were to report on the condition of the Slavs in the different countries in which they reside. It had also been determined under the influence of two agitators, Bakunin, a Russian, and Libert, a Prussian Pole, to publish a manifesto which, almost ignoring the national question, expounded in the then customary phraseology the theory of the sovereignty of the people. Palacky and Tomek, firm upholders of the historical rights of the Bohemian people, could not approve of this unpractical and doctrinaire resolution. Wishing, however, to

[1] In a work of this extent it is obviously impossible to discuss adequately the causes of the riots at Prague in 1848. It appears certain that the Austrian Government gave orders for a large number of uniforms such as were then worn by the men of the National Guard. There is unfortunately little doubt that they were intended to be worn by agents of the secret police, who were to insult the soldiers and thus cause a conflict.

avoid discord among the members of the congress, they finally consented to its being passed. Palacký had previously obtained the insertion of a passage which laid stress on the equality of the Slavic races with the Teutonic and Latin ones that had so long oppressed them.

June 11 was in that year Whitsunday. The Slavic congress interrupted its sittings for a few days, and many members left Prague for the country. The assertion afterwards made by Government officials that a vast conspiracy was planned at this moment is undoubtedly untrue. On Whitmonday a solemn mass was said in St. Venceslas's place, where prayers were offered up for the success of the congress. After the end of the service some of those who had been present on their way home passed through the Celetná ulice, where the palace of the military commander was then situated. On passing the residence cries were raised which the soldiers on duty there—who were all ignorant of the Bohemian language—believed, or pretended to believe, to be insults against their commander. The large force of soldiers which was concentrated in the vast courtyard of the palace immediately marched out into the street and began to fire on the passers-by.[1] A panic ensued, as a rumour that Prince Windischgrätz was planning forcibly to re-establish absolutism, had been widely circulated. Barricades were hurriedly erected in various parts of the town, and desultory fighting took place in several directions. Some houses belonging to Bohemian patriots were plundered, and the soldiers made an attempt to destroy the collections contained in the National museum. There was no organized resistance to the troops, as no revolution had been planned. Even the students, who had slightly fortified the university buildings known as the Clementinum, immediately released Count Leo Thun, whom they had made a prisoner. As he had not hitherto proved hostile to the national cause, it was hoped that he would act as mediator. The thought of retaining a hostage, so familiar to more recent and more ferocious revolutionists, was never conceived by these youthful and enthusiastic patriots.

When the news of the troubles at Prague reached Vienna the Austrian Government immediately attempted to mediate.

[1] I make this statement on the authority of men who were present in the Celetná ulice when this event took place.

Composed as it then was of men of liberal views, it well knew that Windischgrätz's plans extended far beyond the borders of Bohemia. Count Mensdorf was sent to Prague as Imperial representative, and he was instructed to replace Prince Windischgrätz as commander of the troops in Bohemia. Mensdorf entered into negotiations with the national committee, and on June 15 it appeared that these negotiations were proceeding favourably. The officers and men of the garrison of Prague, however, refused to obey any commander except Windischgrätz,[1] and General Mensdorf and the Government officials who accompanied him were obliged hurriedly to leave Prague. Windischgrätz had meanwhile withdrawn all his forces from the interior of the city and concentrated them on the surrounding heights. Under the pretext that shots had been fired at his outposts he began on June 16 a general bombardment of Prague. During the night fires broke out in all directions, and on the following morning the city capitulated unconditionally. Windischgrätz's plans had begun successfully. One of the principal towns of the empire was again under absolutist rule. The short-sighted and narrow-minded Germans of Bohemia, and even of other countries, at first celebrated Windischgrätz as a national hero. It was only when the general, with even greater energy, re-established autocracy in Vienna also that their views underwent a change.

The bombardment of Prague marks in Bohemia the end of the national and liberal movement of the year 1848, though Bohemian representatives, as will be mentioned presently, took part in the deliberations of the Austrian constituent assembly that met at Vienna, and afterwards at Kroměříže. In Bohemia, however, absolutism was already triumphant. Shortly before the outbreak of the disturbances at Prague the national committee, which since the meeting in the hall of St. Venceslas directed the national movement, sent two of its members, Dr. Rieger and Count Nostitz, to Innsbruck, where the Imperial court was then residing. They arrived at Prague on their return at the moment when General Mensdorf was vainly attempting to obtain a cessation of hostilities. Rieger and Nostitz were bearers of good news. The Emperor had received them graciously and had confirmed all the promises contained in his letter of April 8. He

[1] The "inspired" reports on these events suppress all mention of this somewhat prætorian attitude of the troops in Bohemia.

had also promised to convoke the Bohemian Parliament in the course of the month of June, leaving it to Count Leo Thun, as representative of the Austrian Government in Bohemia, to fix the day.

All the hopes of Bohemia were destroyed by the action of Prince Windischgrätz. The members of the Slavic congress immediately dispersed; the meeting of the Bohemian Parliament was indefinitely postponed and, indeed, never took place; the national committee was dissolved; Prague and most of the Bohemian towns were placed in a state of siege. At the end of the year 1848 Prague was for a short time freed from this state, but it was re-established a few months later, as the police spies again maintained that they had discovered a vast conspiracy in Bohemia. It appears that the fact that a few students had incautiously spoken with disapproval of the Government was the only foundation of this denunciation. The courts-martial resumed their activity, which became even greater than before. As constitutional government had not yet been formally abolished, the military and police officials considered it their duty to prove the existence of far-reaching conspiracies, which justified the maintenance of martial law. For this purpose they used means not differing widely from the customs of the middle ages.[1]

The liberty of the press, after a brief spell of freedom again disappeared. In Prague almost all the papers except the organ of the Government discontinued publication. The editors who were sufficiently venturesome not to do so were subject to bitter and persistent persecution. Even the tamest criticism of Government measures rendered the writer and the editor liable to fines and imprisonment. As the reactionary movement was directed in Bohemia by men whose sympathies were entirely German, the papers written in the national language were treated far worse than the German ones, and they soon disappeared altogether, while some German papers continued to be published during the whole period of absolutism. Among the Bohemian journalists

[1] The regulations of the courts-martial authorized the presidents of such courts, should they think that a witness obstinately refused to give evidence or attempted to mislead the authorities, to have corporal punishment inflicted on such a person. It was in the case of grown men to consist of not more than fifty strokes with a stick, in the case of youths and women of not more than thirty strokes with a birch-rod.

who were at this period persecuted by the Austrian Government the most illustrious was Charles Havliček, whose memory is still revered by the Bohemians. He had, as already mentioned, begun before the year 1848 to edit the *Pražské Noviny*. When the liberal movement of that year began Havliček broke off his connection with it, thinking that its proprietors did not allow him sufficient independence. He founded a new paper entitled the *Národní Noviny* (National News), and very courageously continued its publication even after the bombardment of Prague. The paper was constantly confiscated, sometimes entirely suppressed for a few months, then again for a short time permitted to appear.[1] Havliček finally saw the impossibility of publishing in Prague a paper opposed to the Government. He therefore, in spite of the difficulties raised by the authorities, and contrary even to the advice of some of his friends, determined to found a new paper at Kutna Hora, a town in which the state of siege had not been proclaimed. The first number of the new paper, to which Havliček gave the name of *Slovan* (the "Slav") appeared on May 8, 1850. In his new paper he continued bravely to uphold the political and national demands of his countrymen. The reactionary movement in the Habsburg monarchy was by this time fully successful, and the persecution of Havliček continued relentlessly; almost every number of his paper was confiscated, and in those very numerous parts of the empire which were under martial law its sale was entirely prohibited. Though Havliček, a poor man, suffered financially also, he courageously continued the unequal struggle up to August 15, 1851, when the last number of the *Slovan* appeared. Havliček now determined entirely to leave political life and to seek to gain a living by farming. His sufferings were not, however, at an end. In consequence of an article contained in the last number of the *Slovan*, the public prosecutor brought an accusation against Havliček before the law-court of Kutna Hora. Trials by jury had, in that part of Bohemia which was not under martial law, not yet been suppressed; its suppression was, indeed, one of the consequences of the trial of Havliček. He appeared, on November 17, before the jury of Kutna Hora and was unanimously acquitted. His heroic attitude and his eloquence are still remembered by the Bohemian

[1] *Karel Havliček Borovský*, by Adolph Srb.

people. The Austrian Government was, however, now more firmly determined than ever to silence Havlíček. The *coup-d'état* of Napoleon III had encouraged the friends of absolutism in all parts of the continent. By order of the minister, Baron Bach, who was just beginning to acquire that influence which for a time made him almost omnipotent in Austria, Havlíček was arrested at three o'clock of night on December 16, 1851, and conveyed to Brixen in the Tyrol. He was interned here and remained here for some years under the strict supervision of the police. He was only permitted to return to his native land when his health was already failing, and he died shortly after his return to Bohemia.

The persecution of Bohemian patriots was not limited to men who like Havlíček openly expressed views that were in Austria considered radical. Even so conservative a statesman as was Palacký suffered from the molestation of the Austrian Government and the secret police. He had long been president of the society of the National Museum, but when new elections took place during the period of renewed absolutism the committee did not even dare to elect him one of its members. Yet even this cautious association of noblemen and scholars incurred the suspicion of Bach's agents, and it was decreed that a commissioner of the police should be present at the sittings of the association. Palacký, whose great historical work had largely contributed to the revival of the national feeling in Bohemia, incurred the special hatred of the military rulers of Prague. The suggestion of trying him by court-martial was seriously discussed, but the plan was afterwards abandoned. Yet he continued under constant and secret supervision by the police. Palacký has himself told us that at this period he avoided walking through the more frequented streets of Prague. He did not wish to place his friends before the alternative of either ignoring him or incurring the disfavour of the police by being seen in his company. All relations between Palacký and the Bohemian nobility, who had so highly esteemed him, ceased for a time. The nobles, with few exceptions, temporarily withdrew their support from the national cause. It was only in 1860, when a new attempt was made to establish constitutional government in Bohemia that this ceased to be the case.

It has already been mentioned that Bohemian representa-

tives took part in the deliberations of the Austrian parliament that met at Vienna in 1848. They have often been blamed for having done so. Yet it must be remembered that as all liberty had already been suppressed in their own country, the Vienna parliament was the only forum in which they could freely express their views. It should also be noted that the Vienna parliament was a constituent assembly, and the Bohemians could therefore take part in its deliberations without prejudging the question of their autonomy concerning which they had recently received such satisfactory promises from the court.

It has already been mentioned that the Bohemian national movement was at its beginning mainly a literary one. It is therefore natural that there should have been many scholars and men of letters among the deputies whom the Bohemians returned to the parliament of Vienna. We find among them the names of Palacký—who was elected by several constituencies, and became the leader of the party—Tomek the great historian, Havlíček, Trojan, and Rieger, who now first gave proofs of his great eloquence. The learned Šafařík, who was also elected, declined to proceed to Vienna. The position of the Bohemian delegates in Vienna was from the first a very difficult, indeed an almost helpless one. The radical majority was thoroughly imbued with the extreme and nebulous views of the German democracy of the year 1848. Their hatred of the Slavic "inferior" race was as great as that with which they viewed all authority and orderly government. An alliance with such men was impossible. The conservative party consisted largely of clericals from the Tyrol and Galicia; the latter, mostly ignorant of the German language, voting according to a signal given by their leader. The short residence of the Bohemians in Vienna was not a pleasant one. They arrived there early in July and on the 18th Rieger was attacked by the mob in the "Graben," the principal street of Vienna. Through the intervention of some German radical deputies he was able to escape with his life. The terrorism of the populace of Vienna increased daily, and the Bohemian delegates decided to leave the city. On October 6, Rieger, whose life had again been menaced by German workmen, succeeded in escaping from Vienna together with his friend Havlíček. Shortly afterwards Prince Windischgrätz and his army arrived before Vienna. On October 26 the bombard-

ment of the city began, and it surrendered unconditionally on the 31st.

There cannot at the present time be much doubt that at this moment when two of the largest cities in the empire were subjected to the state of siege, and the attempt of the Italians to secure their independence had failed, the reactionary councillors of the court had already determined to re-establish absolutism in a new and—as events proved—even more vexatious form. Why it was thought advisable to keep up for a time the pretence of continuing parliamentary government will only be known when future historians obtain access to the now hermetically secluded state papers of this period. The new reactionary ministers in Vienna decided that the parliament should continue its deliberations, but that it should be transferred to the small town of Kroměříže in Moravia. The deputies met there for the first time on November 22, and the Bohemians again took part in the deliberations. The assembly, in a spirit that may be called foolish or heroic, and perhaps was both, proceeded to discuss the fundamental rights of the citizens. Very radical but absolutely utopian measures were passed. At a moment when the prime minister, Prince Schwarzenberg, and the commander-in-chief, Prince Windischgrätz, were openly expressing views that to a courtier of Louis XIV would have appeared somewhat extreme, the assembly at Kroměříže voted the suppression of hereditary nobility. Very liberal enactments defining the limits of the powers of the Church and of the State were also voted. Rieger, whose eloquence had already rendered him conspicuous, spoke strongly and brilliantly in favour of religious liberty—a fact that was often recalled when Rieger later in life expressed somewhat ultramontane views. When Prince Schwarzenberg—as events proved somewhat prematurely—believed that the war with Hungary was successfully terminated, he advised the Emperor Francis Joseph—who on December 2, 1848, had suceeded to his uncle Ferdinand—to dissolve the parliament of Kroměříže. This was done quite suddenly on March 4, 1849, and when the members on that day arrived at the building where they met, they found it closed and all the entrances guarded by a large force of police and soldiers. The police immediately afterwards issued warrants against many deputies whose immunity now ended. Some, though the dissolution had been purposely kept secret,

received a timely warning and escaped to foreign countries. The plan of trying Palacký by court-martial was—as already mentioned—soon given up. Rieger for a short time retired to Paris, but was soon allowed to return to his native country. The proceedings taken against Havlíček have already been mentioned. Though the assembly at Kroměříže had thus been unceremoniously dismissed, the pretence of establishing representative institutions was still kept up. In March 1849, a new constitution for the whole empire, including Hungary, was established. It requires no notice, as no attempt was ever made to carry out its provisions. It was formally suppressed on December 31, 1851, and undisguised absolutism prevailed in all parts of the Habsburg dominions up to the year 1860.

An autocratic government such as was now established required the support of military prestige. After the disastrous campaign in Lombardy in 1859, the government of Vienna determined to make a new attempt to establish representative institutions. After some preliminary deliberations the Imperial councillors devised a constitutional scheme, which, had it been fairly and impartially carried out, would probably have assured permanent concord and harmony to the vast empire. It was proposed that a central parliament, composed of delegates of all the states which form the empire, should meet to deliberate on a strictly limited number of subjects. The members of this assembly were to be elected by the parliamentary bodies which represented the different states of the empire. To these bodies very extensive powers were granted. In Hungary, and to a lesser degree in Bohemia, their constitution was modelled on that of the ancient Diets of those states.

These reforms were contained in a decree dated October 20, 1860. Its author, Count Goluchowski,[1] declared it to be henceforth the fundamental law of the country. It was well received in Bohemia, but met with bitter hostility on the part of the Hungarians. Even the most conservative statesmen of that country—and they alone then took part in the councils of the empire—declared that Hungary was still deprived of her ancient rights. Yet louder was the outcry of the foolish and frivolous population of Vienna. The Viennese, greatly to the damage of the empire, have

[1] Father of the Count Goluchowski, who was recently Austrian minister of Foreign Affairs.

always founded on the fact that their city is the Imperial residence, a claim of supremacy for the German race to which they belong.

These evil influences prevailed. Count Goluchowski retired from office and was replaced by Baron Schmerling, an Austrian bureaucrat of the ancient school. Baron Schmerling believed, as most men of his class did, and still do, that a strong central administration directed from Vienna by German officials was the form of government most suitable to the polyglot state. Strongly German in his sympathies, he also in view of the foreign policy of the empire considered it necessary that its subjects should, at least to the foreign observer, appear as Germans; thus only could the Austrian hegemony in Germany, which was represented by the presidency of the federal council at Frankfurt, be preserved. A certain amount of constitutional government Schmerling, after the disasters in Lombardy, considered a necessary evil. As the result of these considerations Schmerling published the decree of February 26, 1851, many of whose enactments are still in force. A central parliament, representing the whole empire and consisting of two houses, was to meet at Vienna. The different parts of the empire were granted representative bodies, to whom very limited powers were assigned, though they were entitled to choose from their number the members of the central parliament. Faithful to his system of maintaining and even extending the influence of the German element, Schmerling established a system of election which—particularly in Bohemia—was outrageously unfair. Some of the deputies of the Bohemian country districts represented 2500, others 25000 electors; and it was always the German deputy who represented the smaller and the Bohemian who represented the larger number of votes. There is in all the records of parliamentary representation no worse case of gerrymandering than that which we find in Schmerling's electoral law for Bohemia.

When the Bohemian Diet met at Prague in 1861 the assembly consisting almost entirely of Germans appeared rather as a travesty than as a representation of the opinions of the nation. One of the first duties of the Bohemian Diet was to elect representatives to the central parliament at Vienna. The nationalist members took part in this election —an action for which they have been frequently blamed.

It has often been stated that they should—following the example of the Hungarians—have refused to be represented in Vienna. Yet their position was quite different from that of the Hungarians. In consequence of the arbitrary electoral ordinances of Schmerling, the government would easily have replaced the nationalists by German Bohemians, who would in Vienna have been recognized as representatives not of a German minority but of the whole Bohemian nation. It was, however, soon found impossible by the Bohemians to take part in the deliberations of the parliament of Vienna. Not only did frivolous sophists such as Giscra, afterwards a Cisleithanian minister, grossly insult the Bohemian crown and constitution, but the whole assembly —openly encouraged by Schmerling himself—trenched on matters which, as the Bohemians rightly believed, had been reserved to the competency of the Bohemian Diet by the decree of October 20, 1860. Hungary, Croatia, and Venetia—then still part of the Habsburg empire—had from the first declined to take part in the deliberations of the parliament of Vienna. Schmerling's policy proved a complete failure. Though he long clung to office, he was finally and somewhat unceremoniously dismissed on July 27, 1865.

Schmerling's successor was Count Louis Belcredi, a statesman who has probably been more grossly misrepresented than any other politician of the present day. Having always been employed in the civil service—he was governor of Bohemia when called to Vienna—he had little opportunity of studying the foreign policy of the empire. He had gathered from members of the Austrian diplomatic service, that a somewhat prolonged period of peace was probable.[1] This was a necessity for him, as he intended to carry out a complete system of re-organization of the empire—probably somewhat on the lines of the decree of October.

It is beyond the purpose of this work to refer to the causes which lead to the war between Austria and Prussia in 1866. In the German parts of Austria the war was joyfully welcomed—particularly by the citizens of Vienna and the officials of the "Ball Platz" (Foreign Office).

[1] Belcredi afterwards expressed himself somewhat bitterly. He writes in his memoirs: "Leider hat mich eine bittere Erfohrung gelehrt, dass niemand schlechter informirt ist als die oesterreichische Diplomatic."

The Viennese declared that the Prussians could easily be driven off with a wet rag,[1] and Prince Metternich, Austrian ambassador in Paris, was busily occupied in composing a "triumphal march" to celebrate the entry of the Austrian troops into Berlin.

The Bohemian people did not view matters in the same light. In a country where the study of history is perhaps more general than in any other, no man underrated the indomitable courage and the iron tenacity of the German foes. The descendants of the Hussites, "men whose fathers braved the world in arms" against Bohemia, knew how dearly won and sanguinary some of the victories of their ancestors over the Germans had been. The Bohemians were now also prepared to defend their country. A short time previously gymnastic societies had been formed in most parts of Bohemia. The members of these societies soon became known as the "sokols," from the falcon (in Bohemian, sokol) feather which they wore in their caps. These men were eager again to meet in the field the ancient enemies of their nation. They begged to be allowed to organize the national defence, and to occupy and fortify the mountains and often narrow passes that lead from Prussia and Saxony into Bohemia, and which they—rightly as events proved—believed to have been left undefended.[2] A stern refusal was the only answer. The Vienna Government, still pursuing the foolish phantom of supremacy in Germany, wished the war—as the official proclamation stated—to be considered as a "war of Germans against Germans."

It is not my task to describe here the short campaign which, practically decided by the battle of Kralové Hradec (July 3, 1866),[3] was terminated by the peace of Prague on August 23. Austria lost no territory to Prussia by this treaty. The scheme of annexing the part of Bohemia situated on the right bank of the Elbe was soon abandoned by the Prussians. Prussia, however, obtained its principal object. The dominions of the House of Habsburg were entirely excluded from Germany; the link that bound the unwilling Bohemians to Germany was severed. During the

[1] "Mit einem nassen Fetzen."

[2] These facts have been told me by Professor Tilšer, who was one of the "sokols" of that time.

[3] I have given a short account of the battle of Kralové Hradec (better known under the German name of Königgrätz) in the *Pall Mall Magazine* for November 1904.

occupation of their country by the Prussians, the Bohemians, who were defenceless and unarmed, maintained an attitude of dignified reserve. The same cannot be said of the German inhabitants of Bohemia. Very competent authorities state that they on several occasions welcomed the Prussians with so much enthusiasm that it was only the loyalty with which the King of Prussia, even in the time of war, discouraged such manifestations that prevented their leading to serious consequences.[1]

It is, as I have written elsewhere, a bitter saying in Austria that those nationalities which support the Government suffer, and those that oppose it are rewarded. The Hungarians had been on the verge of rebellion during the campaign of 1866, and had even formed a free corps to support the Prussians. The Bohemians, on the other hand, had remained loyally and undauntedly faithful to the dynasty. Yet in the year following the battle of Kralové Hradec, Hungary obtained almost complete independence, while Bohemia's demand of autonomy was ignominiously rejected.

Count Belcredi's plans received a death blow by the Bohemian campaign. The councillors of Vienna determined to call in the assistance of Baron—afterwards Count—Beust, who before the war had been prime minister of Saxony. He claimed no knowledge of the internal politics of the Habsburg empire. It is no longer a secret that his mission consisted in organizing a new active policy in Germany which might eventually reverse the results of the battle of Kralové Hradec. Beust knew that Hungary had been openly hostile to Austria during the war that had just ended, and that Hungary would some years previously have been lost to the empire, had not Russia interfered. In 1866 no such an intervention could be expected. Count Beust also reflected that as Hungary had never formed part of the Germanic confederation, its autonomy was by no means an obstacle to the re-establishment of the Habsburg hegemony in Germany.

The position of Bohemia was entirely different. On the resignation of Count Belcredi (February 4, 1867) Count Beust, who had hitherto only acted as minister of foreign affairs, undertook also the direction of the internal policy

[1] This is particularly mentioned by Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg in his *Aus memem Leben* (vol iii. p. 600).

of the Habsburg realm. He decided to re-establish in the non-Hungarian part of the empire the so-called constitution of Schmerling. The Bohemian Diet was therefore again called on to elect delegates to the central Parliament of Vienna. According to the electoral laws of Schmerling every Government was, and indeed still is, certain of a majority in the Diet of Prague. There was nothing left to the national party but to record a protest. This was done in a brilliant manner by Dr. Rieger in a speech pronounced before the Diet of Prague on April 3, 1867. Addressing the Germans who were to represent Bohemia in Vienna, he said,[1] "You are, gentlemen, going to Vienna in accordance with your political views. We cannot prevent your doing this, but remember what we have said to you here; you are not authorized to give up the historical rights of this kingdom . . . Remember that, though you have the majority here, you yet represent but the minority of the population of the kingdom, and we the majority . . . In the establishment of a Cisleithanian and of a Hungarian Parliament, I clearly see an attempt to subjugate the Slavic nations in both parts of the empire. Over one division the Germans, over the other the Magyars are to rule. We think such a partition of rights belonging to others cannot prevail, for 'justitia est regnorum fundamentum!'" After the end of this speech the national deputies left the Diet of Prague as they had already, in 1863, left the Parliament of Vienna.

On August 22 the national deputies published a document which became known as the "declaration." They here declared that even Ferdinand II, after the battle of the White Mountain, had recognized part of the ancient privileges of Bohemia, and that the new representative institutions were directly opposed to them, and would never be recognized by the Bohemian people.

The German cabinet established by Count Beust, after a short time found it impossible to continue its system of government. After the short ministry of Count Potocki, Count Hohenwarth took office on February 7, 1871. Hohenwarth, a very distinguished statesman, immediately attempted to establish peace with Bohemia. By his advice an Imperial decree was published on September 14, in which the sovereign declared that "in consideration of the former constitutional position of Bohemia, and remembering

[1] *Řeči* (Speeches), Dra F. L. Riegra, vol. iv. pp. 239–240.

the power and glory which its crown had given to his ancestors, and the constant fidelity of the people, he gladly recognized the rights of the kingdom, and was willing to confirm this assurance by taking the coronation oath." Hohenwarth's loyal attempt failed, mainly through German influence, and in 1879 the Bohemians entered the Parliament of Vienna. The events of the last thirty years cannot yet be considered as belonging legitimately to the domain of history. It may, however, be well to say a word on the present condition of Bohemia. The prospect of the country at this moment (October 1909) appears very dark. This is mainly a consequence of the foreign policy of the empire. Bohemia has always had so little influence on the foreign policy of Austria that it is only in consequence of the events of the last year that I may briefly allude to those who have recently directed the foreign policy of the empire. The recent ministers of foreign affairs of Austria had been men of little importance. Count Kalnoky had served for some time in the army and then pursued a diplomatic career. He had retained the manner and appearance of a soldier, a "corporal," as he was often called. Of limited capacity and almost devoid of education, he endeavoured to impress his adversaries by a peremptory manner, the result of which was that he was generally considered ill-bred. Of his successor, Count Goluchowski, it is unnecessary to repeat here what I have previously written.[1]

Count Aehrenthal, the present Austrian minister of foreign affairs, is in every way superior to his predecessors. He is perhaps one of the great statesmen of his time. Yet we must leave it to the future to judge whether the annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina without the previous consent of the signatories of the treaty of Berlin was judicious. In Bohemia the measure was intensely unpopular. The people —rightly, as events have proved—believed that the empire would become yet more subservient to Germany. The annexation not having been received as patiently as Count Aehrenthal believed, Austria had to rely on Germany, and with German help the annexation was safely carried out. It would be attributing to Germans more generosity than they claim, were we to doubt that their influence in Austria will become yet greater. That influence is always used against

[1] In the *Nineteenth Century*, December 1899.

Bohemia and in favour of the German minority of the population of that country. The policy of the present Austrian prime minister is more hostile to Bohemia than that of any of his predecessors. Dark clouds seem to surround the future of Bohemia.

PRINCES OF BOHEMIA

Přemysl	Křesomysl
Nezamysl	Neklan
Mnata	Hostivit
Vojen	Bořivoj I
Unislav	Spytihněv I

Vratislav I.

Venceslas I	928–936	Břetislav II	1092–1110
Boleslav I	936–967	Bořivoj II	1110–1120
Boleslav II	967–999	Vladislav I	1120–1125
Boleslav III	999–1002	Soběslav I	1125–1140
Vladivoj	1002–1003	Vladislav II (as King, I)	1140–1173
Jaromir	1003–1012	Sobèslav II	1173–1189
Ulrich	1012–1037	Conrad Otho	1189–1191
Břetislav I	1037–1055	Venceslas II	1191–1192
Spytihněv II	1055–1061	Přemysl Ottokar	1192–1230
Vratislav II (King)	1061–1092		

KINGS OF BOHEMIA

Venceslas I	1230–1253	Louis I	1516–1526
Přemysl Ottokar II	1253–1278	Ferdinand I	1526–1564
Venceslas II	1278–1305	Maximilian	1564–1576
Venceslas III	1305–1306	Rudolph II	1576–1612
Rudolph of Habsburg	1306–1307	Matthew	1612–1619
Henry of Carinthia	1307–1310	Frederick of the Palatinate	1619–1620
John	1310–1346	Ferdinand II	1619–1637
Charles I (IV)	1346–1378	Ferdinand III	1637–1657
Venceslas IV	1378–1419	Leopold I	1657–1705
Sigismund	1436–1437	Joseph I	1705–1711
Albert of Habsburg	1437–1439	Charles II (VI)	1711–1740
Ladislas Posthumus	1439–1457	Maria Theresa	1740–1780
George of Poděbrad	1458–1471	Charles of Bavaria	1741–1745
Vladislav II	1471–1516	Joseph II	1780–1790
		Leopold II	1790–1792
		Francis	1792–1835
		Ferdinand IV (I)	1835–1848
		Francis Joseph	1848

I have continued the list of the rulers of Bohemia (most of whom were Roman and afterwards Austrian Emperors) up to the present day, as the title of King of Bohemia has always been retained by these princes.

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